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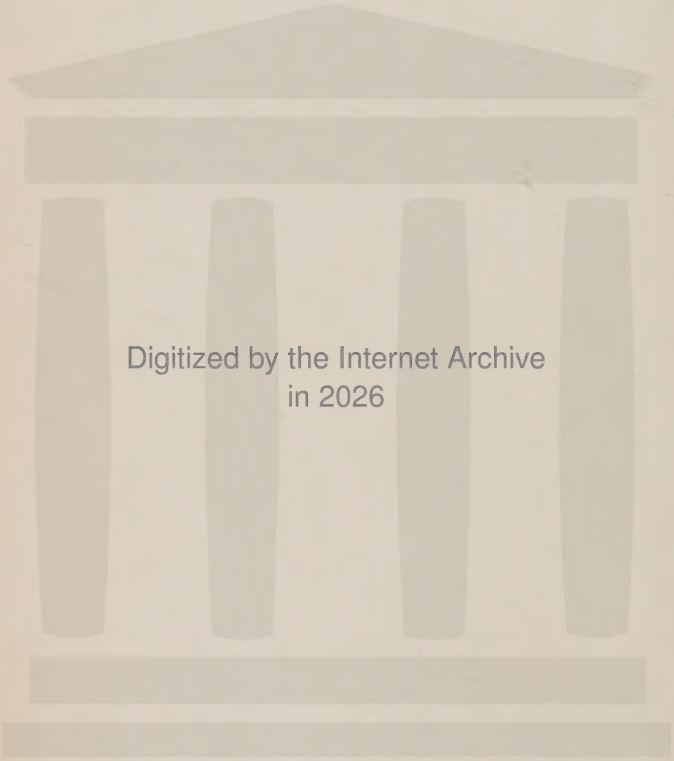
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SCENES AND CHARACTERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

Yr tale q̄ ganne · anone as ye shal here
Explicit prologus
Prima pars
Here begynneth the Seege of Thebes ful
lamentably tolde · by Johñ lidgate Monke of
Bury amenynge it to ye tales of Cauterbury
Is quod I. sith of youre Curtesye
I entende am · in to youre Compenye
And admytted · a tale for to tele
By hym that hath power to compele
I mene oure hoste governere and gyde
Of youre etheone · rydenge here by syde
Thogh my wit bareyne be and dulle
I wolle rehersse · a story wonderfulle
Touchenge the seegge · and destruccyon
Of worthy Thebes · the myghty royalle Toun
Whilom and bygonne · of olde Antiquite
Upon the tyme · of worthy Cesyne
By diligence · of kynge Amphion
Cheeff cause first · of this foundacyon

CANTERBURY PILGRIMS

From an illuminated MS. in the British Museum

By John Lydgate (14th Century)

SCENES & CHARACTERS OF THE MIDDLE AGES

By the Rev. EDWARD L. CUTTS, B.A., late Hon. Sec. of the Essex Archæological Society. With 182 Illustrations. Fifth Edition

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THE MONKS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF MONACHISM.

WE do not aim in these chapters at writing general history, or systematic treatises. Our business is to give a series of sketches of mediæval life and mediæval characters, looked at especially from the artist's point of view. And first we have to do with the monks of the Middle Ages. One branch of this subject has already been treated in Mrs. Jameson's "Legends of the Monastic Orders." This accomplished lady has very pleasingly narrated the traditionary histories of the founders and saints of the orders, which have furnished subjects for the greatest works of mediæval art; and she has placed monachism before her readers in its noblest and most poetical aspect. Our humbler task is to give a view of the familiar daily life of ordinary monks in their monasteries, and of the way in which they enter into the general life without the cloister;—such a sketch as an art-student might wish to have who is about to study that picturesque mediæval period of English history for subjects for his pencil. The religious orders occupied so important a position in mediæval society, that they cannot be overlooked by the historical student; and the flowing black robe and severe intellectual features of the Benedictine monk, or the coarse frock and sandalled feet of the mendicant friar, are too characteristic and too effective, in contrast with the gleaming armour

and richly-coloured and embroidered robes of the sumptuous civil costumes of the period, to be neglected by the artist. Such an art-student would desire first to have a general sketch of the whole history of monachism, as a necessary preliminary to the fuller study of any particular portion of it. He would wish for a sketch of the internal economy of the cloister; how the various buildings of a monastery were arranged; and what was the daily routine of the life of its inmates. He would seek to know under what circumstances these recluses mingled with the outer world. He would require accurate particulars of costumes and the like antiquarian details, that the accessories of his picture might be correct. And, if his monks are to be anything better than representations of monkish habits hung upon "lay figures," he must know what kind of men the Middle Age monks were intellectually and morally. These particulars we proceed to supply as fully as the space at our command will permit.

Monachism arose in Egypt. As early as the second century we read of men and women who, attracted by the charms of a peaceful, contemplative life, far away from the fierce, sensual, persecuting heathen world, betook themselves to a life of solitary asceticism. The mountainous desert on the east of the Nile valley was their favourite resort; there they lived in little hermitages, rudely piled up of stones, or hollowed out of the mountain side, or in the cells of the ancient Egyptian sepulchres, feeding on pulse and herbs, and water from the neighbouring spring.

One of the frescoes in the Campo Santo, at Pisa, by Pietro Laurati, engraved in Mrs. Jameson's "Legendary Art," gives a curious illustration of this phase of the eremitical life. It gives us a panorama of the desert, with the Nile in the foreground, and the rock caverns, and the little hermitages built among the date-palms, and the hermits at their ordinary occupations: here is one angling in the Nile, and another dragging out a net; there is one sitting at the door of his cell shaping wooden spoons. Here, again, we see them engaged in those mystical scenes in which an overwrought imagination pictured to them the temptations of their senses in visible demon-shapes—beautiful to tempt or terrible to affright; or materialised the spiritual joys of their minds in angelic or divine visions: Anthony driving out with his staff the beautiful demon from his cell, or

rapt in ecstasy beneath the Divine apparition.* Such pictures of the early hermits are not infrequent in mediæval art—one, from a fifteenth century MS. Psalter in the British Museum (Domit. A. xvii. f. 4 v), will be found in a subsequent chapter of this book.

We can picture to ourselves how it must have startled the refined Græco-Egyptian world of Alexandria when occasionally some man, long lost to society and forgotten by his friends, reappeared in the streets and squares of the city, with attenuated limbs and mortified countenance, with a dark hair-cloth tunic for his only clothing, with a reputation for exalted sanctity and spiritual wisdom, and vague rumours of supernatural revelations of the unseen world; like another John Baptist sent to preach repentance to the luxurious citizens; or fetched, perhaps, by the Alexandrian bishop to give to the church the weight of his testimony to the ancient truth of some doctrine which began to be questioned in the schools.

Such men, when they returned to the desert, were frequently accompanied by numbers of others, whom the fame of their sanctity and the persuasion of their preaching had induced to adopt the eremitical life. It is not to be wondered at that these new converts should frequently build, or select, their cells in the neighbourhood of that of the teacher whom they had followed into the desert, and should continue to look up to him as their spiritual guide. Gradually, this arrangement became systematised; a number of separate cells, grouped round a common oratory, contained a community of recluses who agreed to certain rules and to the guidance of a chosen head; an enclosure wall was generally built around this group, and the establishment was called a *laura*.

The transition from this arrangement of a group of anchorites occupying the anchorages of a laura under a spiritual head, to that of a community

* We cannot put down all these supernatural tales as fables or impostures; similar tales abound in the lives of the religious people of the Middle Ages, and they are not unknown in modern days: *e.g.*, Luther's conflict with Satan in the Wartzburg, and Colonel Gardiner's vision of the Saviour. Which of them (if any) are to be considered true supernatural visions, which may be put down as the natural results of spiritual excitement on the magination, which are mere baseless legends, he would be a very self-confident critic who professed in all cases to decide.

living together in one building under the rule of an abbot, was natural and easy. The authorship of this cœnobite system is attributed to St. Anthony, who occupied a ruined castle in the Nile desert, with a community of disciples, in the former half of the fourth century. The cœnobitical institution did not supersede the eremitical; both continued to flourish together in every country of Christendom.*

The first written code of laws for the regulation of the lives of these communities was drawn up by Pachomius, a disciple of Anthony's. Pachomius is said to have peopled the island of Tabenne, in the Nile, with cœnobites, divided into monasteries, each of which had a superior, and a dean to every ten monks; Pachomius himself being the general director of the whole group of monasteries, which are said to have contained eleven hundred monks. The monks of St. Anthony are represented in ancient Greek pictures with a black or brown robe, and often with a tau cross of blue upon the shoulder or breast.

St. Basil, afterwards bishop of Cesaræa, who died A.D. 378, introduced monachism into Asia Minor, whence it spread over the East. He drew up a code of laws founded upon the rule of Pachomius, which was the foundation of all succeeding monastic institutions, and which is still the rule followed by all the monasteries of the Greek Church. The rule of St. Basil enjoins poverty, obedience, and chastity, and self-mortification. The habit both of monks and nuns was, and still is, universally in the Greek Church, a plain, coarse, black frock with a cowl, and a girdle of leather, or cord. The monks went barefooted and barelegged, and wore the Eastern tonsure, in which the hair is shaved in a crescent off the fore part of the head, instead of the Western tonsure, in which it is shaved in a circle off the crown. Hilarion is reputed to have introduced the Basilican institution into Syria; St. Augustine into Africa; St. Martin of Tours into France; St. Patrick into Ireland, in the fifth century.

The early history of the British Church is enveloped in thick obscurity, but it seems to have derived its Christianity (indirectly perhaps) from an Eastern

* Besides consulting the standard authorities on the archæology of the subject, the student will do well to read Mr. Kingsley's charming book, "The Hermits of the Desert."

source, and its monastic system was probably derived from that established in France by St. Martin, the abbot-bishop of Tours. One remarkable feature in it is the constant union of the abbatical and episcopal offices; this conjunction, which was foreign to the usage of the church in general, seems to have obtained all but universally in the British, and subsequently in the English Church. The British monasteries appear to have been very large; Bede tells us that there were no less than two thousand one hundred monks in the monastic establishment of Bangor in the sixth century, and there is reason to believe that the number is not overstated. They appear to have been schools of learning. The vows do not appear to have been perpetual; in the legends of the British saints we constantly find that the monks quitted the cloister without scruple. The legends lead us to imagine that a provost, steward, and deans, were the officers under the abbot; answering, perhaps, to the prior, cellarer, and deans of Benedictine institutions. The abbot-bishop, at least, was sometimes a married man.

CHAPTER II.

THE BENEDICTINE ORDERS.

IN the year 529 A.D., St. Benedict, an Italian of noble birth and great reputation, introduced into his new monastery on Monte Cassino—a hill between Rome and Naples—a new monastic rule. To the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, which formed the foundation of most of the old rules, he added another, that of manual labour (for seven hours a day), not only for self-support, but also as a duty to God and man. Another important feature of his rule was that its vows were perpetual. And his rule lays down a daily routine of monastic life in much greater detail than the preceding rules appear to have done. The rule of St. Benedict speedily became popular, the majority of the existing monasteries embraced it; nearly all new monasteries for centuries afterwards adopted it; and we are told, in proof of the universality of its acceptation, that when Charlemagne caused inquiries to be made about the beginning of the eighth century, no other monastic rule was found existing throughout his wide dominions. The monasteries of the British Church, however, do not appear to have embraced the new rule.

St. Augustine, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, was prior of the Benedictine monastery which Gregory the Great had founded upon the Celian Hill, and his forty missionaries were monks of the same house. It cannot be doubted that they would introduce their order into those parts of England over which their influence extended. But a large part of Saxon England owed its Christianity to missionaries of the native church sent forth from the great monastic institution at Iona and afterwards at Lindisfarne, andthese would doubtless introduce their own monastic system. We find,

in fact, that no uniform rule was observed by the Saxon monasteries; some seem to have kept the rule of Basil, some the rule of Benedict, and others seem to have modified the ancient rules, so as to adapt them to their own circumstances and wishes. We are not surprised to learn that under such circumstances some of the monasteries were lax in their discipline; from Bede's accounts we gather that some of them were only convents of secular clerks, bound by certain rules, and performing divine offices daily, but enjoying all the privileges of other clerks, and even sometimes being married. Indeed, in the eighth century the primitive monastic discipline appears to have become very much relaxed, both in the East and West, though the popular admiration and veneration of the monks was not diminished.

In the illuminations of Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries, we find the habits of the Saxon monks represented of different colours, viz., white, black, dark brown, and grey.* In the early MS. Nero C. iv., in the British Museum, at f. 37, occurs a very clearly drawn group of monks in white habits; another group occurs at f. 34, rather more stiffly drawn, in which the margin of the hood and the sleeves is bordered with a narrow edge of ornamental work.

About the middle of the ninth century, however, Archbishop Dunstan reduced all the Saxon monasteries to the rule of St. Benedict; not without opposition on the part of some of them, and not without rather peremptory treatment on his part; and thus the Benedictine rule became universal in the West. The habit of the Benedictines consisted of a white woollen cassock, and over that an ample black gown and a black hood. We give here an excellent representation of a Benedictine monk, from a book which formerly belonged to St. Alban's Abbey, and now is preserved in the British Museum (Nero D. vii. f. 81). The book is the official catalogue which each monastery kept of those who had been benefactors to the house, and who were thereby entitled to their grateful remembrance and their prayers. In many cases the record of a benefaction is accompanied by an illuminated portrait of the benefactor. In the present case, he is

* Strutt's "Dress and Habits of the People of England."

represented as holding a golden tankard in one hand and an embroidered cloth in the other, gifts which he made to the abbey, and for which he is thus immortalised in their *Catalogus Benefactorum*. Other illustrations of Benedictine monks, of early fourteenth century date, may be found in the Add. MS. 17,687, at f. 3; again at f. 6, where a Benedictine is preaching; and again at f. 34, where one is preaching to a group of nuns of the same order; and at f. 41, where one is sitting writing at a desk (as in the scriptorium, probably). Yet again in the MS. Royal 20 D. vii., is a picture of St. Benedict preaching to a group of his monks. A considerable number of pictures of Benedictine monks, illustrating a mediæval legend of which they are the subject, occur in the lower margin of the MS. Royal 10 E. iv., which is of late thirteenth or early fourteenth century date. A drawing of Abbot Islip of Westminster, who died A.D. 1532, is given in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. iv. Pl. xvi. In working and travelling they wore over the cossack a black sleeveless tunic of shorter and less ample dimensions.

Benedictine Monk.

The female houses of the order had the same regulations as those of the monks; their costume too was the same, a white under garment, a black gown and black veil, with a white wimple around the face and neck. They had in England, at the dissolution of the monasteries, one hundred and twelve monasteries and seventy-four nunneries.* For illustration of an abbess see the fifteenth century MS. Royal 16 F. ii. at f. 137.

The Benedictine rule was all but universal in the West for four centuries; but during this period its observance gradually became relaxed.

* This is the computation of Tanner in his "Notitia Monastica;" but the editors of the last edition of Dugdale's "Monasticon," adding the smaller houses or cells, swell the number of Benedictine establishments in England to a total of two hundred and fifty-seven.

We cannot be surprised if it was found that the seven hours of manual labour which the rule required occupied time which might better be devoted to the learned studies for which the Benedictines were then, as they have always been, distinguished. We should have anticipated that the excessive abstinence, and many other of the mechanical observances of the rule, would soon be found to have little real utility when simply enforced by a rule, and not practised willingly for the sake of self-discipline. We are not therefore surprised, nor should we in these days attribute it as a fault, that the obligation to labour appears to have been very generally dispensed with, and some humane and sensible relaxations of the severe ascetic discipline and dietary of the primitive rule to have been very generally adopted. Nor will any one who has any experience of human nature expect otherwise than that among so large a body of men—many of them educated from childhood * to the monastic profession—there would be some who were wholly unsuited for it, and some whose vices brought disgrace upon it. The Benedictine monasteries, then, at the time of which we are speaking, had become different from the poor retired communities of self-denying ascetics which they were originally. Their general character was, and continued throughout the Middle Ages to be, that of wealthy and learned bodies; influential from their broad possessions, but still more influential from the fact that nearly all the literature, and art, and science of the period was to be found in their body. They were good

* If a child was to be received his hand was wrapped in the hanging of the altar, "and then," says the rule of St. Benedict, "let them offer him." The words are "Si quas forte de nobilibus offert filium suum Deo in monasterio, si ipse puer minore ætate est, parentes ejus faciant petitionem et manum pueri involvant in pallu altaris, et sic eum offerunt" (c. 59). The Abbot Herman tells us that in the year 1055 his mother took him and his brothers to the monastery of which he was afterwards abbot. "She went to St. Martin's (at Tournay), and delivered over her sons to God, placing the little one in his cradle upon the altar, amidst the tears of many bystanders" (Maitland's "Dark Ages," p. 78). The precedents for such a dedication of an infant to an ascetic life are, of course, the case of Samuel dedicated by his mother from infancy, and of Samson and John Baptist, who were directed by God to be consecrated as Nazarites from birth. A law was made prohibiting the dedication of children at an earlier age than fourteen. At f. 209 of the MS. Nero D. vii., is a picture of St. Benedict, to whom a boy in monk's habit is holding a book, and he is reading or preaching to a group of monks.

landlords to their tenants, good cultivators of their demesnes; great patrons of architecture, and sculpture, and painting; educators of the people in their schools; healers of the sick in their hospitals; great almsgivers to the poor; freely hospitable to travellers; they continued regular and constant in their religious services; but in housing, clothing, and diet, they lived the life of temperate gentlemen rather than of self-mortifying ascetics. Doubtless, as we have said, in some monasteries there were evil men, whose vices brought disgrace upon their calling; and there were some monasteries in which weak or wicked rulers had allowed the evil to prevail. The quiet, unostentatious, every-day virtues of such monastics as these were not such as to satisfy the enthusiastical seeker after monastical perfection. Nor were they such as to command the admiration of the unthinking and illiterate, who are always more prone to reverence fanaticism than to appreciate the more sober virtues, who are ever inclined to sneer at religious men and religious bodies who have wealth, and are accustomed to attribute to a whole class the vices of its disreputable members.

The popular disrepute into which the monastics had fallen through their increased wealth, and their departure from primitive monastical austerity, led, during the next two centuries, viz., from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the eleventh, to a series of endeavours to revive the primitive discipline. The history of all these attempts is very nearly alike. Some young monk of enthusiastic disposition, disgusted with the laxity or the vices of his brother monks, flies from the monastery, and betakes himself to an eremitical life in a neighbouring forest or wild mountain valley. Gradually a few men of like earnestness assemble round him. He is at length induced to permit himself to be placed at their head as their abbot, requires his followers to observe strictly the ancient rule, and gives them a few other directions of still stricter life. The new community gradually becomes famous for its virtues; the Pope's sanction is obtained for it; its followers assume a distinctive dress and name; and take their place as a new religious order. This is in brief the history of the successive rise of the Clugniacs, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, and the orders of Camaldoli and Vallombrosa and Grandmont; they all sprang

hus out of the Benedictine order, retaining the rule of Benedict as the roundwork of their several systems. Their departures from the Benedictine rule were comparatively few and trifling, and need not be numerated in such a sketch as this: they were in fact only reformed Benedictines, and in a general classification may be included with the arent order, to which these rivals imparted new tone and vigour.

The following account of the foundation of Clairvaux by St. Bernard ill illustrate these general remarks. It is true that the founding of Clairvaux was not technically the founding of a new order, for it had been ounded fifteen years before in Citeaux; but St. Bernard was rightly steemed a second founder of the Cistercians, and his going forth from the arent house to found the new establishment at Clairvaux was under circumtances which make the narrative an excellent illustration of the subject.

"Twelve monks and their abbot," says his life in the "Acta Sanctorum," representing our Lord and his apostles, were assembled in the church. tephen placed a cross in Bernard's hands, who solemnly, at the head of is small band, walked forth from Citeaux. . . . . Bernard struck way to the northward. For a distance of nearly ninety miles he kept his course, passing up by the source of the Seine, by Chatillon, of schoolay memories, till he arrived at La Ferté, about equally distant between royes and Chaumont, in the diocese of Langres, and situated on the ver Aube. About four miles beyond La Ferté was a deep valley opening the east. Thick umbrageous forests gave it a character of gloom and ildness; but a gushing stream of limpid water which ran through it was fficient to redeem every disadvantage. In June, A.D. 1115, Bernard ok up his abode in the valley of Wormwood, as it was called, and began look for means of shelter and sustenance against the approaching nter. The rude fabric which he and his monks raised with their own nds was long preserved by the pious veneration of the Cistercians. It nsisted of a building covered by a single roof, under which chapel, rmitory, and refectory were all included. Neither stone nor wood hid e bare earth, which served for floor. Windows scarcely wider than a n's hand admitted a feeble light. In this room the monks took their gal meals of herbs and water. Immediately above the refectory was the

sleeping apartment. It was reached by a ladder, and was, in truth, a sort of loft. Here were the monks' beds, which were peculiar. They were made in the form of boxes or bins of wooden planks, long and wide enough for a man to lie down in. A small space, hewn out with an axe, allowed room for the sleeper to get in or out. The inside was strewn with chaff, or dried leaves, which, with the woodwork, seem to have been the only covering permitted. . . . . The monks had thus got a house over their heads; but they had very little else. They had left Citeaux in June. Their journey had probably occupied them a fortnight, their clearing, preparations, and building, perhaps two months; and thus they would be near September when this portion of their labour was accomplished. Autumn and winter were approaching, and they had no store laid by. Their food during the summer had been a compound of leaves intermixed with coarse grain. Beech-nuts and roots were to be their main support during the winter. And now to the privations of insufficient food was added the wearing out of their shoes and clothes. Their necessities grew with the severity of the season, till at last even salt failed them; and presently Bernard heard murmurs. He argued and exhorted; he spoke to them of the fear and love of God, and strove to rouse their drooping spirits by dwelling on the hopes of eternal life and Divine recompense. Their sufferings made them deaf and indifferent to their abbot's words. They would not remain in this valley of bitterness; they would return to Citeaux. Bernard, seeing they had lost their trust in God, reproved them no more; but himself sought in earnest prayer for release from their difficulties. Presently a voice from heaven said, 'Arise, Bernard, thy prayer is granted thee.' Upon which the monks said, 'What didst thou ask of the Lord?' 'Wait, and ye shall see, ye of little faith,' was the reply; and presently came a stranger who gave the abbot ten livres."

William of St. Thierry, the friend and biographer of St. Bernard, describes the external aspect and the internal life of Clairvaux. We extract it as a sketch of the highest type of monastic life, and as a corrective of the revelations of corrupter life among the monks which find illustration in these pages.

"At the first glance as you entered Clairvaux by descending the

ill you could see it was a temple of God; and the still, silent valley espoke, in the modest simplicity of its buildings, the unfeigned humility f Christ's poor. Moreover, in this valley full of men, where no one as permitted to be idle, where one and all were occupied with their llotted tasks, a silence deep as that of night prevailed. The sounds f labour, or the chants of the brethren in the choral service, were the nly exceptions. The order of this silence, and the fame that went orth of it, struck such a reverence even into secular persons that they readed breaking it—I will not say by idle or wicked conversation, but ven by pertinent remarks. The solitude, also, of the place—between ense forests in a narrow gorge of neighbouring hills—in a certain sense ecalled the cave of our father St. Benedict, so that while they strove to hitate his life, they also had some similarity to him in their habitation nd loneliness. . . . . Although the monastery is situated in a valley, has its foundations on the holy hills, whose gates the Lord loveth more han all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of it, because he glorious and wonderful God therein worketh great marvels. There he insane recover their reason, and although their outward man is worn way, inwardly they are born again. There the proud are humbled, the ch are made poor, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them, and he darkness of sinners is changed into light. A large multitude of blessed oor from the ends of the earth have there assembled, yet have they one eart and one mind; justly, therefore, do all who dwell there rejoice with o empty joy. They have the certain hope of perennial joy, of their scension heavenward already commenced. In Clairvaux they have found acob's ladder, with angels upon it; some descending, who so provide for heir bodies that they faint not on the way; others ascending, who so rule heir souls that their bodies hereafter may be glorified with them.

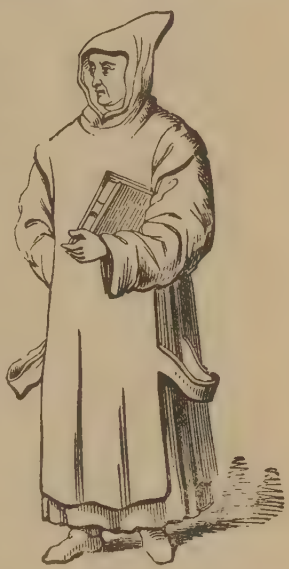
"For my part, the more attentively I watch them day by day, the more o I believe that they are perfect followers of Christ in all things. When hey pray and speak to God in spirit and in truth, by their friendly and uiet speech to Him, as well as by their humbleness of demeanour, they are ainly seen to be God's companions and friends. When, on the other and, they openly praise God with psalmody, how pure and fervent are

their minds, is shown by their posture of body in holy fear and reverence, while by their careful pronunciation and modulation of the psalms, is shown how sweet to their lips are the words of God—sweeter than honey to their mouths. As I watch them, therefore, singing without fatigue from before midnight to the dawn of day, with only a brief interval, they appear a little less than the angels, but much more than men. . . . .

"As regards their manual labour, so patiently and placidly, with such quiet countenances, in such sweet and holy order, do they perform all things, that although they exercise themselves at many works, they never seem moved or burdened in anything, whatever the labour may be. Whence it is manifest that that Holy Spirit worketh in them who disposeth of all things with sweetness, in whom they are refreshed, so that they rest even in their toil. Many of them, I hear, are bishops and earls, and many illustrious through their birth or knowledge; but now, by God's grace, all acceptation of persons being dead among them, the greater any one thought himself in the world, the more in this flock does he regard himself as less than the least. I see them in the garden with hoes, in the meadows with forks or rakes, in the fields with scythes, in the forest with axes. To judge from their outward appearance, their tools, their bad and disordered clothes, they appear a race of fools, without speech or sense. But a true thought in my mind tells me that their life in Christ is hidden in the heavens. Among them I see Godfrey of Peronne, Raynald of Picardy, William of St. Omer, Walter of Lisle, all of whom I knew formerly in the old man, whereof I now see no trace, by God's favour. I knew them proud and puffed up; I see them walking humbly under the merciful hand of God."

The first of these reformed orders was the CLUGNIAC, so called because it was founded, in the year 927, at Clugny, in Burgundy, by Odo the Abbot. The Clugniacs formally abrogated the requirement of manual labour required in the Benedictine rule, and professed to devote themselves more sedulously to the cultivation of the mind. The order was first introduced into England in the year 1077 A.D., at Lewes, in Sussex; but it never became popular in England, and never had more than twenty houses here, and they small ones, and nearly all of them founded before the reign

f Henry II. Until the fourteenth century they were all priories ependent on the parent house of Clugny; though the prior of Lewes as the High Chamberlain, and often the Vicar-general, of the Abbot of lugny, and exercised a supervision over the English houses of the order. he English houses were all governed by foreigners, and contained more reign than English monks, and sent large portions of their surplus evenues to Clugny. Hence they were often seized, during war between ngland and France, as alien priories. But in the fourteenth century any of them were made denizen, and Bermondsey was made an abbey, nd they were all discharged from subjection to ne foreign abbeys. The Clugniacs retained the enedictine habit. At Cowfold Church, Sussex, ill remains a monumental brass of Thomas elond, who was prior of Lewes at his death, 1433 A.D., in which he is represented in the abit of his order.*



Carthusian Monk.

In the year 1084 A.D., the CARTHUSIAN order as founded by St. Bruno, a monk of Cologne, Chartreux, near Grenoble. This was the most evere of all the reformed Benedictine orders. o the strictest observance of the rule of Bene- ict they added almost perpetual silence; flesh as forbidden even to the sick; their food was onfined to one meal of pulse, bread, and water, aily. It is remarkable that this the strictest f all monastic rules has, even to the present ay, been but slightly modified; and that the onks have never been accused of personally deviating from it. The rder was numerous on the Continent, but only nine houses of the order ere ever established in England. The principal of these was the Charter- ouse (Chartreux), in London, which, at the dissolution, was rescued y Thomas Sutton to serve one at least of the purposes of its original

* Engraved in Boutell's "Monumental Brasses."

foundation—the training of youth in sound religious learning. There were few nunneries of the order—none in England. The Carthusian habit consisted of a white cassock and hood, over that a white scapulary—a long piece of cloth which hangs down before and behind, and is joined at the sides by a band of the same colour, about six inches wide; unlike the other orders, they shaved the head entirely.

The representation of a Carthusian monk, on previous page, is reduced from one of Hollar's well-known series of prints of monastic costumes. Another illustration may be referred to in a fifteenth century book of Hours (Add.), at f. 10, where one occurs in a group of religious, which includes also a Benedictine and a Cistercian abbot, and others.

Cistercian Monk.

In 1098 A.D., arose the CISTERCIAN order. It took the name from Citeaux (Latinised into Cistercium), the house in which the new order was founded by Robert de Thierry. Stephen Harding, an Englishman, the third abbot, brought the new order into some repute; but it is to the fame of St. Bernard, who joined it in 1113 A.D., that the speedy and widespread popularity of the new order is to be attributed. The order was introduced into England at Waverly, in Surrey, in 1128 A.D. The Cistercians professed to observe the rule of St. Benedict with rigid exactness, only that some of the hours which were devoted by the Benedictines to reading and study, the Cistercians devoted to manual labour. They affected a severe simplicity; their houses were to be simple, with no lofty towers, no carvings or representation of saints, except the crucifix; the furniture and ornaments of their establishments were to be in keeping—chasubles of fustian, candlesticks of iron, napkins of coarse cloth, the cross of wood, and only the chalice might be of precious metal. The amount of manual labour

prevented the Cistercians from becoming a learned order, though they did produce a few men distinguished in literature; they were excellent farmers and horticulturists, and are said in early times to have almost monopolised the wool trade of the kingdom. They changed the colour of the Benedictine habit, wearing a white gown and hood over a white cassock; when they went beyond the walls of the monastery they also wore a black cloak. St. Bernard of Clairvaux is the great saint of the order. They had seventy-five monasteries and twenty-six nunneries in England, including some of the largest and finest in the kingdom.

The cut represents a group of Cistercian monks, from a MS. (Vitellius A. 13) in the British Museum. It shows some of them sitting with hands crossed and concealed in their sleeves—an attitude which was considered modest and respectful in the presence of superiors; some with the cowl over the head. It will be observed that some are and some are not bearded.

Group of Cistercian Monks.

The Cistercian monk, whom we give in the opposite woodcut, is taken from Hollar's plate.

Other reformed Benedictine orders which arose in the eleventh century, viz., the order of CAMALDOLI, in 1027 A.D., and that of VALLOMBROSA, in 1073 A.D., did not extend to England. The order of the GRANDMONTINES had one or two alien priories here.

The preceding orders differ among themselves, but the rule of Benedict is the foundation of their discipline, and they are so far impressed with a common character, and actuated by a common spirit, that we may consider them all as forming the Benedictine family.

CHAPTER III.

THE AUGUSTINIAN ORDERS.

E come next to another great monastic family which is included under the generic name of Augustinians. The Augustinians claim the great St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, as their founder, and relate that he established the monastic communities in Africa, and gave them a rule. That he did patronise monachism in Africa we gather from his writings, but it is not clear that he founded any distinct order; nor was any order called after his name until the middle of the ninth century. About that time all the various denominations of clergy who had not entered the ranks of monachism—priests, canons, clerks, &c.—were incorporated by a decree of Pope Leo III. and the Emperor Lothaire into one great order, and were enjoined to observe the rule which was then known under the name of St. Augustine, but which is said to have been really compiled by Ivo de Chartres from the writings of St. Augustine. It was a much milder rule than the Benedictine. The Augustinians were divided into Canons Secular and Canons Regular.

The Canons Secular of St. Augustine were in fact the clergy of cathedral and collegiate churches, who lived in community on the monastic model; their habit was a long black cassock (the parochial clergy did not then universally wear black); over which, during divine service, they wore a surplice and a fur tippet, called an *almuce*, and a four-square black cap, called a *baret;* and at other times a black cloak and hood with a leather girdle. According to their rule they might wear their beards, but from the thirteenth century downwards we find them usually shaven. In the Canon's Yeoman's tale, from which the following extract is taken, Chaucer

gives us a pen-and-ink sketch of a canon, from which it would seem that even on a journey he wore the surplice and fur hood under the black cloak :—

> "Ere we had ridden fully five mile,'
> At Brighton under Blee us gan atake [overtake]
> A man that clothed was in clothes blake,
> And underneath he wered a surplice.
> * * * *
> And in my hearte wondren I began
> What that he was, till that I understood
> How that his cloak was sewed to his hood,*
> For which when I had long avised me,
> I deemed him some chanon for to be.
> His hat hung at his back down by a lace."

The hat which hung behind may have been like that of the abbot in a subsequent woodcut ; but he wore his hood ; and Chaucer, with his usual humour and life-like portraiture, tells us how he had put a burdock leaf under his hood because of the heat :—

> "A clote-leaf he had laid under his hood
> For sweat, and for to keep his head from heat.

Chaucer rightly classes the canons rather with priests than monks :—

> "All be he monk or frere,
> Priest or chanon, or any other wight."

The canon whom we give in the wood-cut over-leaf, from one of Hollar's plates, is in ordinary costume. An engraving of a semi-choir of canons in their furred tippets from the MS. Domitian xvii., will be found in a subsequent chapter on the Secular Clergy.

There are numerous existing monumental brasses in which the effigies of canons are represented in choir costume, viz., surplice and amice, and often with a cope over all ; they are all bareheaded and shaven. We may mention specially that of William Tannere, first master of Cobham College (died 1418 A.D.), in Cobham Church, Kent, in which the almuce, with its

* Probably this means that he had "clocks"—little bell-shaped ornaments—sewn to the lower margin of his tippet or hood.

fringe of bell-shaped ornaments, over the surplice, is very distinctly shown; it is fastened at the throat with a jewel. The effigy of Sir John Stodeley, canon, in Over Winchendon Church, Bucks (died 1505), is in ordinary costume, an under garment reaching to the heels, over that a shorter black cassock, girded with a leather girdle, and over all a long cloak and hood.

Canon of St. Augustine.

The CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE were perhaps the least ascetic of the monastic orders. Enyol de Provins, a minstrel (and afterwards a monk) of the thirteenth century, says of them: "Among them one is well shod, well clothed, and well fed. They go out when they like, mix with the world, and talk at table." They were little known till the tenth or eleventh century, and the general opinion is, that they were first introduced into England, at Colchester, in the reign of Henry I., where the ruins of their church, of Norman style, built of Roman bricks, still remain. Their habit was like that of the secular canons—a long black cassock, cloak and hood, and leather girdle, and four-square cap; they are distinguished from the secular canons by not wearing the beard. According to Tanner, they had one hundred and seventy-four houses in England—one hundred and fifty-eight for monks, and sixteen for nuns; but the editors of the last edition of the "Monasticon" have recovered the names of additional small houses, which make up a total of two hundred and sixteen houses of the order.

The Augustinian order branches out into a number of denominations; indeed, it is considered as the parent rule of all the monastic orders and religious communities which are not included under the Benedictine order; and retrospectively it is made to include all the distinguished recluses and clerics before the institution of St. Benedict, from the fourth to the sixth century.

The most important branch of the Regular Canons is the PREMONSTRATENSIAN, founded by St. Norbert, a German nobleman, who died in 1134 A.D.; his first house, in a barren spot in the valley of Coucy, in Picardy, called Pré-montre, gave its name to the order. The rule was that of Augustine, with a severe discipline superadded; the habit was a coarse black cassock, with a white woollen cloak and a white four-square cap. Their abbots were not to use any episcopal insignia. The Premonstratensian nuns were not to sing in choir or church, and to pray in silence. They had only thirty-six houses in England, of which Welbeck was the chief; but the order was very popular on the Continent, and at length numbered one thousand abbeys and five hundred nunneries.

Under this rule are also included the GILBERTINES, who were founded by a Lincolnshire priest, Gilbert of Sempringham, in the year 1139 A.D. There were twenty-six houses of the order, most of them in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; they were all priories dependent upon the house of Sempringham, whose head, as prior-general, appointed the priors of the other houses, and ruled absolutely the whole order. All the houses of this order were double houses, that is, monks and nuns lived in the same enclosure, though with a rigid separation between their two divisions. The monks followed the Augustinian rule; the nuns followed the rule of the Cistercian nuns. The habit was a black cassock, a white cloak, and hood lined with lambskin. The "Monasticon" gives very effective representations (after Hollar) of the Gilbertine monk and nun.

The NUNS OF FONTEVRAUD was another female order of Augustinians, of which little is known. It was founded at Fontevraud in France, and three houses of the order were established in England in the time of Henry II.; they had monks and nuns within the same enclosure, and all subject to the rule of an abbess.

The BONHOMMES were another small order of the Augustinian rule, of little repute in England; they had only two houses here, which, however, were reckoned among the greater abbeys, viz., Esserug in Bucks, and Edindon in Wilts.

The female ORDER OF OUR SAVIOUR, or, as they are usually called, the BRIGITTINES, were founded by St. Bridget of Sweden, in 1363 A.D. They

were introduced into England by Henry V., who built for them the once glorious nunnery of Sion House. At the dissolution, the nuns fled to Lisbon, where their successors still exist. Some of the relics and vestments which they carried from Sion House have been carefully preserved ever since, and are now in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury.* Their habit was like that of the Benedictine nuns—a black tunic, white wimple and veil, but is distinguished by a black band on the veil across the forehead.

Other small offshoots of the great Augustinian tree were those which observed the rule of St. Austin according to the regulations of St. Nicholas of Arroasia, which had four houses here; and those which observed the order of St. Victor, which had three houses.

We may refer the reader to two MS. illuminations of groups of religious for further illustration of their costumes. One is in the beautiful fourteenth century MS. of Froissart in the British Museum (Harl. 4,380, at f. 18 v). It represents a dying pope surrounded by a group of representative religious, cardinals, &c. Among them are one in a brown beard, and with no appearance of tonsure (? a hermit); another in a white scapular and hood (? a Carthusian); another in a black cloak and hood over a white frock (? a Cistercian); another in a brown robe and hood, tonsured. Again, in the MS. Tiberius B iii. article 3, f. 6, the text speaks of "Convens of monkys, chanons and chartreus, celestynes, freres and prestes, palmers, pylgreymys, hermytes, and reclus," and the illuminator has illustrated it with a row of religious—first a Benedictine abbot; then a canon with red cassock and almuce over surplice; then a monk with white frock and white scapular banded at the sides, as in Hollar's cut given above, is clearly the Carthusian; then comes a man in brown, with a knotted girdle, holding a cross staff and a book, who is perhaps a friar; then one in white surplice over red cassock, who is the priest; then a hermit, in brown cloak over dark grey gown; and in the background are partly seen two pilgrims and a monk. Other illustrations of monks are frequent in the illuminated MSS.

* Mrs. Jameson, "Legends of the Monastic Orders," p. 137.

The HOSPITALS of the Middle Ages deserve a more extended notice than we can afford them here. Some were founded at places of pilgrimage and along the high roads, for the entertainment of poor pilgrims and travellers. Thus at St. Edmund's Bury there was St. John's Hospital, or God's House, without the south gate; and St. Nicholas Hospital, without the east gate; and St. Peter's Hospital, without the Risley gate; and St. Saviour's Hospital, without the north gate—all founded and endowed by abbots of St. Edmund. At Reading there was the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, for twelve leprous persons and chaplains; and the Hospital of St. Lawrence, for twenty-six poor people and for the entertainment of strangers and pilgrims—both founded by abbots of Reading; one at the gate of Fountains Abbey, for poor persons and travellers; one at Glastonbury, under the care of the almoner, for poor and infirm persons; &c., &c. Indeed, they were scattered so profusely up and down the country that the last edition of the "Monasticon" enumerates no less than three hundred and seventy of them. Those for the poor had usually a little chamber for each person, a common hall in which they took their meals, a chapel in which they attended daily service. They usually were under the care and government of one or more clergymen; sometimes in large hospitals of a prior and bretheren, who were Augustinian canons. The canons of some of these hospitals had special statutes in addition to the general rules, and were distinguished by some peculiarity of habit; for example, the canons of the Hospital of St. John Baptist at Coventry wore a cross on the breast of their black cassock, and a similar one on the shoulder of their cloak. The poor people were also under a simple rule, and were regarded as part of the community. The accompanying woodcut enables us to place a group of them before the eye of the reader. It is from one of the initial letters of the deed (Harl. 1,498) by which Henry VII.

Bedesmen. Temp. Hen. VII.

founded a fraternity of thirteen poor men (thirteen was a favourite number for such hospitals) in Westminster Abbey, who were to be under the governance of the monks, and to repay the king's bounty by their prayers. The group represents the abbot and some of the monks, and behind them some of the bedesmen, each of whom has the royal badge—the rose and crown—on the shoulder of his habit, and holds in his hand his rosary, the symbol of his prayers. Happily some of these ancient foundations have continued to the present day, and the brethren may be seen yet in coats of antique fashion, with a cross or other badge on the sleeve. Examples of the architecture of the buildings may be seen in the Bede Houses in Higham Ferrers Churchyard, built by Archbishop Chechele in 1422; St. Thomas's Hospital, Northampton; Wyston's Hospital, Leicester; Ford's Hospital, Coventry; the Alms Houses at Sherborne; the Leicester Hospital at Warwick, &c. Mr. Turner, in the "Domestic Architecture," says that there exists a complete chronological series from the twelfth century downwards.

Hospitals were also established for the treatment of the sick, of which St. Bartholomew's Hospital is perhaps our most illustrious instance. It was founded to be an infirmary for the sick and infirm poor, a lying-in hospital for women—there were sisters on the hospital staff, and if the women happened to die in hospital their children were taken care of till seven years of age. The staff usually consisted of a community living under monastic vows and rule, viz., a prior and a number of brethren who were educated and trained to the treatment of sickness and disease, and one or more of whom were also priests; a college, in short, of clerical physicians and surgeons and hospital dressers, who devoted themselves to the service of the sick poor as an act of religion, and had always in mind our Lord's words, "Inasmuch as ye do it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto me." In the still existing church of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in Smithfield, is a monument of the founder "Rahere, first canon and prior," which is, however, of much later date, probably of about 1410 A.D.; his recumbent effigy, and the kneeling figures of two of his canons beside him, afford good authorities for costume. They have been engraved in the "Vetusta Monumenta," vol. ii. Pl. xxxvi.

The building usually consisted of a great hall in which the sick lay, a hapel for their worship, apartments for the hospital staff, and other apartents for guests. We are not aware of any examples in England so perfect some which exist in other countries, and we shall therefore borrow some reign examples in illustration of the subject. The commonest form of ese hospitals seems to have been a great hall divided by pillars into a ntre and aisles, in which rows of beds were arranged; with a chapel in a parate building at one end of the hall, and other buildings irregularly sposed in a courtyard; as at the Hôtel Dieu of Chartres, a building 1153 A.D.,* and the Salle des Morts at Ourscamp.† At Tonerre we find modification of the above plan. The hospital is still a vast hall, but divided by timber partitions along the side walls into little separate lls. Above these cells, against the side walls, and projecting partly ver the cells, are two galleries, along which the attendants might walk id look down into the cells. At the east end of this hall two bays ere screened off for the chapel, so that they who were able might o up into the chapel, and they who could not rise from their beds ould still take part in the service.‡ At Tartoine, near Laon la Fère, a hospital on a different plan: a hall, with cells on one side of it, is laced on one side of a square courtyard, and the chapel and lodgings for ie brethren on another side of the court.§

* Viollet le Duc's "Dictionary of Architecture," vol. vi. p. 104.
† Ibid. vi. 107. ‡ Ibid. vi. 112. § Ibid. vi. 112.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MILITARY ORDERS.

WE have already sketched the history of the rise of monachism in the fourth century out of the groups of Egyptian eremites, and the rapid spread of the institution, under the rule of Basil, over Christendom; the adoption in the west of the new rule of Benedict in the sixth century; the rise of the reformed orders of Benedictines in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and the institution in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of a new group of orders under the milder discipline of the Augustinian rule. We come now to a class of monastics who are included under the Augustinian rule, since that rule formed the basis of their discipline, but whose striking features of difference from all other religious orders entitle them to be reckoned as a distinct class, under the designation of the Military Orders. When the history of the mendicant orders which arose in the thirteenth century has been read, it will be seen that these military orders had anticipated the active religious spirit which formed the characteristic of the friars, as opposed to the contemplative religious spirit of the monks. But that which peculiarly characterises the military orders, is their adoption of the chivalrous crusading spirit of the age in which they arose: they were half friars, half crusaders.

The order of the KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE was founded at Jerusalem in 1118 A.D., during the interval between the first and second crusade and in the reign of Baldwin I. Hugh de Payens, and eight other brave knights, in the presence of the king and his barons, and in the hand of the Patriarch, bound themselves into a fraternity which embraced the fundamental monastic vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity; and,

dition, as the special object of the fraternity, they undertook the task of corting the companies of pilgrims from the coast up to Jerusalem, and ence on the usual tour to the Holy Places. For the open country was rpetually exposed to the incursions of irregular bands of Saracen and rkish horsemen, and death or slavery was the fate which awaited any ravan of helpless pilgrims whom the infidel descried as they swept er the plains, or whom they could waylay in the mountain passes. ie new knights undertook besides to wage a continual war in defence the Cross against the infidel. The canons of the Temple at Jerusalem ve the new fraternity a piece of ground adjoining the Temple for the e of their home, and hence they took their name of Knights of the emple; and they gradually acquired dependent houses, which were in t strong castles, whose ruins may still be seen, in many a strong place in lestine. Ten years after, when Baldwin II. sent envoys to Europe to plore the aid of the Christian powers in support of his kingdom against e Saracens, Hugh de Payens was sent as one of the envoys. His order ceived the approval of the Council of Troyes, and of Pope Eugene III., d the patronage of St. Bernard, who became the great preacher of e second crusade; and when Hugh de Payens returned to Palestine, he is at the head of three hundred knights of the noblest houses of Europe, io had become members of the order. Endowments, too, for their pport flowed in abundantly; and gradually the order established depend- t houses on its estates in nearly every country of Europe. The order is introduced into England in the reign of King Stephen; at first its ief house, "the Temple," * was on the south side of Holborn, London, ar Southampton Buildings; afterwards it was removed to Fleet Street, iere the establishment still remains, long since converted to other uses; it the original church, with its round nave, after the form of the Church the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem,† still continues a monument of the

* All its houses were called Temples, as all the Carthusian houses were called Char- reux (corrupted in England into Charterhouse).

† Of the four round churches in England, popularly supposed to have been built by e Templars, the Temple Church in London was built by them; that of Maplestead, in sex, by the Hospitallers; that of Northampton by Simon de St. Liz, first Norman

wealth and grandeur of the ancient knights. They had only five othe houses in England, which were called Preceptories, and were dependen upon the Temple in London.

The knights wore the usual armour of the period; but while othe knights wore the flowing surcoat of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries or the tight-fitting jupon of th fourteenth, or the tabard of th fifteenth, of any colour whic pleased their taste, and ofte embroidered with their armoria bearings, the Knights of th Temple were distinguished b wearing this portion of the equipment of white, with a re cross over the breast; and ove all a long flowing white mantl with a red cross on the shoulde they also wore the monastic to sure. In the early fourteenth ce tury MS. in the British Museu Royal 1,696, at f. 335, is representation of Eracles, Pri at Jerusalem, the Prior of t Hospital, and the Master of t Temple, sent to France to a for succour. The illumination shows us the King of France sitting his throne, and before him is standing a religious in mitre and crozi who is no doubt Eracles, and another in a peculiarly shaped bla robe, with a cross patee on the left shoulder, who is either Hu de Payens the Templar, or Raymond de Puy the Hospitaller, b which it is difficult to determine. Again, in the fine fourteen

A Knight Templar.

Earl of Northampton, twice a pilgrim to the Holy Land; and that of Cambridge by so unknown individual.

ntury MS., Nero E. 2, at f. 345 v, is a representation of the al of the Templars: there are three of them standing before the ope and the King of France, dressed in a grey tunic, and over at a black mantle with a red cross on the left breast, and a pointed od over the shoulders. Folio 350 represents the Master of the Temple ing burnt to death in presence of the king and nobles. Again, in e fine MS. Royal 20, c. viii., of the time of our Richard II., at f. 42 d f. 48, are representations of the same scenes. Folio 42 is a group Templars habited in long black coat, fitting close up to the neck, e the ordinary civil robes of the time, with a pointed hood (like that th which we are familiar in the portraits of Dante), with a cross patee on e right shoulder; the hair is tonsured. At f. 45 is the burning of a oup of Templars (not tonsured), and at f. 48 the burning of the Master the Temple and another (tonsured). Their banner was of a black and ite striped cloth, called *beauseant*, which word they adopted as a war- y. The rule allowed three horses and a servant to each knight. arried knights were admitted, but there were no sisters of the order. ne order was suppressed with circumstances of gross injustice and cruelty the fourteenth century, and the bulk of their estates was given to the ospitallers. The knight here given, from Hollar's plate, is a prior of e order, in armour of the thirteenth century.

The KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, or the Knights Hospitallers, iginally were not a military order; they were founded about 1092 by the erchants of Amalfi, in Italy, for the purpose of affording hospitality to grims in the Holy Land. Their chief house, which was called the ospital, was situated at Jerusalem, over against the Church of the Holy pulchre; and they had independent hospitals in other places in the oly Land, which were frequented by the pilgrims. Their kindness to e sick and wounded soldiers of the first crusade made them popular, d several of the crusading princes endowed them with estates; while ny of the crusaders, instead of returning home, laid down their arms, d joined the brotherhood of the Hospital. During this period of their tory their habit was a plain black robe, with a linen cross upon the left east.

At length their endowments having become greater than the needs o their hospitals required, and incited by the example of the Templars a little before established, Raymond de Puy, the then master of th hospital, offered to King Baldwin II. to reconstruct the order on th model of the Templars. From this time the two military orders formed powerful standing army for the defence of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

When Palestine was finally lost to the Christians, the Knights of S John passed into the Isle of Cyprus, afterwards to the Isle of Rhode and, finally, to the Isle of Malta,* maintaining a constant warfare agains the infidel, and doing good service in checking the westward progress o the Mohammedan arms. In the latter part of their history, and down t a recent period, they conferred great benefits by checking the ravages o the corsairs of North Africa on the commerce of the Mediterranean an the coast towns of Southern Europe. They patrolled the sea in wa galleys, rowed by galley-slaves, each of which carried a force of arme soldiers—inferior brethren of the order, officered by its knights. They a not even now extinct.

The order was first introduced into England in the reign of Henry I at Clerkenwell; which continued the principal house of the order i England, and was styled the Hospital. The Hospitallers had als dependent houses, called Commanderies, on many of their English estate to the number of fifty-three in all. The houses of the military knights i England were only cells, erected on the estates with which they ha been endowed, in order to cultivate those estates for the support of th order, and to form depôts for recruits; *i.e.* for novices, where they migh be trained, not in learning like Benedictines, or agriculture like Cistercian or preaching like Dominicans, but in piety and in military exercises. plan and elevation of the Commandery of Chabburn, Northumberlan are engraved in Turner's "Domestic Architecture," vol. iii. p. 19 The superior of the order in England sat in Parliament, and w

* The order was divided into nations—the English knights, the French knights, &c. each nation having a separate house, situated at different points of the island, for defence. These houses, large and fine buildings, still remain, and many unedited recor of the order are said to be still preserved on the island.

counted the first lay baron. When on military duty the knights wore e ordinary armour of the period, with a red surcoat marked with a ite cross on the breast, and a red mantle with a white cross on the oulder. Some of their churches in England possibly had circular ves, like the church of the Temple in Jerusalem; out of the four ound churches," which remain, one belonged to the Knights of the ospital. The chapel at Chabburn is a rectangular building. There re many sisters of the order, t only one house of them in gland.

One of two earlier represen-ions of knights of the order ay be noted here. In a MS. the Library at Ghent, of the te of our Edward IV., is a cture of John Lonstrother, prior the order; he wears a long eveless gown over armour. It engraved in the "Archælogia," i. 14. The MS. Add. 18,143 the British Museum is said a note at the beginning of e volume to have been the ssal of Phillippe de Villiers de sle Adam, the famous Grand aster of the Order of St. John Jerusalem from 1521 to 1534.

A Knight Hospitaller.

the frontispiece is a portrait of the Grand Master in a black oe lined with fur, and a cross patee on the breast. On the opposite ge is another portrait of him in a robe of different fashion, with cross rather differently shaped. The monument of the last English ior, Sir Thomas Tresham, in his robes as prior of the order, still mains in Rushton Church, Northants. A fine portrait of a Knight Malta is in the National Gallery. The Hospitaller given on the

preceding page, from Hollar's plate, is a (not very good) representation one in the armour of the early part of the fourteenth century, with th usual knight's *chapeau*, instead of the mail hood or the basinet, on h head.

It will be gathered from the authorities of the costume of the Knights the Temple and of the Hospital here noted, that when we picture to ou selves the knights on duty in the Holy Land or elsewhere, it should be in th armour of their period with the uniform surcoat of their order; but whe we desire to realise their appearance as they were to be ordinarily seen, i chapel or refectory, or about their estates, or forming part of any ordina scene of English life, it must be in the long cassock-like gown, with th cross on the shoulder, and the tonsured head, described in the abov authorities, which would make their appearance resemble that of oth religious persons.

Other military orders, which never extended to England, were th order of TEUTONIC KNIGHTS, a fraternity similar to that of the Tem plars, but consisting entirely of Germans; and the order of OUR LAD OF MERCY, a Spanish knightly order in imitation of that of the Trin tarians.

One other order of religious—the TRINITARIANS—we have reserved f this place, because while by their rule they are classed among the Augu tinian orders, the object of their foundation gives them an affinity wi the military orders, and their mode of pursuing that object makes the organisation and life resemble that of friars. The moral interest of the work, and its picturesque scenes and associations, lead us to give a litt larger space to them than we have been able to do to most of the oth orders. It is difficult for us to realise that the Mohammedan pow seemed at one time not unlikely to subjugate all Europe; and that aft their career of conquest had been arrested, the Mohammedan states North Africa continued for centuries to be a scourge to the commerce Europe, and a terror to the inhabitants of the coasts of the Medite ranean. They scoured the Great Sea with their galleys, and capture ships; they made descents on the coasts, and plundered towns a villages; and carried off the captives into slavery, and retreated in safe

th their booty, to their African harbours. It is only within quite recent nes that the last of these strongholds was destroyed by an English fleet, d that the Greek and Italian feluccas have ceased to fear the Algerine rates. We have already briefly stated how the Hospitallers, after their original rvice was ended by the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land, ttled first at Cyprus, then at Rhodes, and did good service as a bulwark ainst the Mohammedan progress; and lastly, as Knights of Malta, acted the police of the Mediterranean, and did their best to oppose the racies of the Corsairs. But in spite of the vigilance and prowess of the ights, many a merchant ship was captured, many a fishing village was cked, and many captives, men, women, and children of all ranks of ciety, were carried off into slavery; and their slavery was a cruel one, aggerated by the scorn and hatred bred of antagonism in race and igion, and made ruthless by the recollection of ages of mutual injuries. ıe relations and friends of the unhappy captives, where they were ople of wealth and influence, used every exertion to rescue those who re dear to them, and their captors were ordinarily willing to set them ransom; but hopeless indeed was the lot of those—and they, of ırse, were the great majority—who had no friends rich enough to help ₌m.

The miserable fate of these helpless ones moved the compassion of me Christ-like souls. John de Matha, born, in 1154, of noble parents Provence, with Felix de Valois, retired to a desert place, where, at the ₀t of a little hill, a fountain of cold water issued forth; a white hart s accustomed to resort to this fountain, and hence it had received the me of Cervus Frigidus, represented in French by (or representing French?) Cerfroy. There, about A.D. 1197, these two good men—the arkson and Wilberforce of their time—arranged the institution of a new der for the Redemption of Captives. The new order received the approval the Pope Innocent III., and took its place among the recognised orders the church. This Papal approval of their institution constituted an horisation from the head of the church to seek alms from all Christen- m in furtherance of their object. Their rules directed that one-third of ir income only should be reserved for their own maintenance, one-third

should be given to the poor, and one-third for the special object o redeeming captives. The two philanthropists preached throughout France collecting alms, and recruiting men who were willing to join them in thei good work. In the first year they were able to send two brethren to Africa to negotiate the redemption of a hundred and eighty-six Christia captives; next year, John himself went, and brought back a thankfu company of a hundred and ten; and on a third voyage, a hundred an twenty more; and the order continued to flourish,* and established house of the order in Africa, as its agent with the infidel. They wer introduced into England by Sir William Lucy of Charlecote, on his retur from the Crusade; who built and endowed for them Thellesford Priory i Warwickshire; and subsequently they had eleven other houses in England St. Rhadegunda was their tutelary saint. Their habit was white, with Greek cross of red and blue on the breast—the three colours being take to signify the three persons of the Holy Trinity, viz., the white, the Eterna Father; the blue, which was the transverse limb of the cross, the Son and the red, the charity of the Holy Spirit.

The order were called TRINITARIANS, from their devotion to the Blesse Trinity, all their houses being so dedicated, and hence the significanc of their badge; they were commonly called MATHURINS, after the name o their founder; and BRETHREN OF THE ORDER OF THE HOLY TRINI FOR THE REDEMPTION OF CAPTIVES, from their object.

Before turning from the monks to the friars, we must devote a bri sentence to the ALIEN PRIORIES. These were cells of foreign abbey founded upon estates which English proprietors had given to the foreig houses. After the expenses of the establishment had been defrayed, th surplus revenue, or a fixed sum in lieu of it, was remitted to the pare house abroad. There were over one hundred and twenty of them whe Edward I., on the breaking out of the war with France, seized upon ther

* An order, called our Lady of Mercy, was founded in Spain in 1258, by Pet Nolasco, for a similar object, including in its scope not only Christian captives to t infidel, but also all slaves, captives, and prisoners for debt.

1285, as belonging to the enemy. Edward II. appears to have pursued e same course; and, again, Edward III., in 1337. Henry IV. only served to himself, in time of war, what these houses had been accustomed pay to the foreign abbeys in time of peace. But at length they were dissolved by act of Parliament in the second year of Henry V., and eir possessions were devoted for the most part to religious and charitable es.

CHAPTER V.

THE ORDERS OF FRIARS.

WE have seen how for three centuries, from the beginning of th tenth to the end of the twelfth, a series of religious orde arose, each aiming at a more successful reproduction of th monastic ideal. The thirteenth century saw the rise of a new cla of religious orders, actuated by a different principle from that of mo achism. The principle of monachism, we have said, was seclusion fro mankind, and abstraction from worldly affairs, for the sake of religio contemplation. To this end monasteries were founded in the wild far from the abodes of men; and he who least often suffered his fe or his thoughts to wander beyond the cloister was so far the be monk. The principle which inspired the FRIARS was that of devotio to the performance of active religious duties among mankind. The houses were built in or near the great towns; and to the majority of th brethren the houses of the order were mere temporary resting-places, fro which they issued to make their journeys through town and countr preaching in the parish churches, or from the steps of the market-crosse and carrying their ministrations to every castle and every cottage.

"I speke of many hundred years ago,
For now can no man see non elves mo;
For now the great charity and prayers
Of lymytours and other holy freres
That serchen every land and every stream
As thick as motis in the sunne-beam,
Blessing halls, chambers, kitchens, and bowers,
Cities and burghs, castles high and towers,

Thorps and barns, shippons and dairies,
This maketh that there been no fairies.
For there as wont to walken was an elf,
There walketh now the lymytour himself
In undermeles and in morwenings,*
And sayeth his matins and his holy things,
As he goeth in his lymytacioun."—*Wife of Bath's Tale.*

They were, in fact, home missionaries; and the zeal and earnestness of ir early efforts, falling upon times when such an agency was greatly eded, produced very striking results. "Till the days of Martin Luther," ys Sir James Stephen, "the church had never seen so great and effectual eform as theirs . . . Nothing in the histories of Wesley or of Whitefield n be compared with the enthusiasm which everywhere welcomed them, with the immediate visible result of their labours." In the character St. Francis, notwithstanding its superstition and exaggerated asceticism, ere is something specially attractive: in his intense sympathy with the rrows and sufferings of the poor, his tender and respectful love for them members of Christ, his heroic self-devotion to their service for Christ's ke, in his vivid realisation of the truth that birds, beasts, and fishes are od's creatures, and our fellow-creatures. In the work of both Francis d Dominic there is much which is worth careful study at the present y. Now, too, there is a mass of misery in our large towns huge and rrible enough to kindle the Christ-like pity of another Francis; in untry as well as town there are ignorance and irreligion enough to ll forth the zeal of another Dominic. In our Sisters of Mercy we see ong women a wonderful rekindling of the old spirit of self-sacrifice, in a ape adapted to our time; we need not despair of seeing the same spirit kindled among men, freed from the old superstitions and avoiding the d blunders, and setting itself to combat the gigantic evils which threaten overwhelm both religion and social order.

Both these reformers took great pains to fit their followers for the ice of preachers and teachers, sending them in large numbers to e universities, and founding colleges there for the reception of their idents. With an admirable largeness of view, they did not confine

* Afternoons and mornings.

their studies to theology, but cultivated the whole range of Science and Art, and so successful were they, that in a short time the professional chairs of the universities of Europe were almost monopolised by the learned members of the mendicant orders.* The constitutions required that no one should be licensed as a general preacher until he had studied theology for three years; then a provincial or general chapter examined into his character and learning; and, if these were satisfactory, gave him his commission, either limiting his ministry to a certain district (whence he was called in English a *limitour*, like Chaucer's Friar Hubert), or allowing him to exercise it where he listed (when he was called a *lister*). This authority to preach, and exercise other spiritual functions, necessarily brought the friars into collision with the parochial clergy;† and while a learned and good friar would do much good in parishes which were cursed with an ignorant, or slothful, or wicked pastor, on the other hand, the inferior class of friars are accused of abusing their position by setting the people against their pastors whose pulpits they usurped, and interfering injuriously with the discipline of the parishes into which they intruded. For it was not very long before the primitive purity and zeal of the mendicant orders began to deteriorate. This was inevitable; zeal and goodness cannot be perpetuated by a system; all human societies of superior pretensions gradually deteriorate, even as the Apostolic Church itself did. But there were peculiar circumstances in the system of the mendicant orders which tended to induce rapid deterioration. The profession of mendicancy tended to encourage the use of all those little paltry arts of

* As an indication of their zeal in the pursuit of science it is only necessary to mention the names of Friar Roger Bacon, the Franciscan, and Friar Albert-le-Grand (Albertus Magnus), the Dominican. The Arts were cultivated with equal zeal—some of the finest paintings in the world were executed for the friars, and their own orders produced artists of the highest excellence. Fra Giacopo da Turrita, a celebrated artist in mosaic of the thirteenth century, was a Franciscan, as was Fra Antonio da Negroponti, the painter. Fra Fillippo Lippi, the painter, was a Carmelite; Fra Bartolomeo, and Fra Angelico da Fiesole—than whom no man ever conceived more heavenly visions of spiritual loveliness and purity—were Dominicans.

† "By his (*i.e.* Satan's) queyntise they comen in,
The curates to helpen,
But that harmed hem hard
And help them ful littel."—*Piers Ploughman's Creed.*

pularity-hunting which injure the usefulness of a minister of religion, l lower his moral tone: the fact that an increased number of friars s a source of additional wealth to a convent, since it gave an increased mber of collectors of alms for it, tended to make the convents less upulous as to the fitness of the men whom they admitted. So that we believe the truth of the accusations of the old satirists, that dissolute, od-for-nothing fellows sought the friar's frock and cowl, for the license ich it gave to lead a vagabond life, and levy contributions on the aritable. Such men could easily appropriate to themselves a portion of at was given them for the convent; and they had ample opportunity, ay from the control of their ecclesiastical superiors, to spend their culations in dissolute living.* We may take, therefore, Chaucer's Friar an, of the Sompnour's Tale, as a type of a certain class of friars; but we st remember that at the same time there were many earnest, learned, l excellent men in the mendicant orders; even as Mawworm and John esley might flourish together in the same body.

The convents of friars were not independent bodies, like the Benedictine

Costumes of the Four Orders of Friars.

l Augustinian abbeys; each order was an organised body, governed by the neral of the order, and under him, by provincial priors, priors of the con- nts, and their subordinate officials. There are usually reckoned four orders friars—the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustines.

* The extract from Chaucer on p. 46, lines 4, 5, 6, seem to indicate that an individual r sometimes "farmed" the alms of a district, paying the convent a stipulated sum, taking the surplus for himself.

"I found there freres,
All the foure orders,
Techynge the peple
To profit of themselves."
Piers Ploughman, l. 115.

The four orders are pictured together in the woodcut on the preceding page from the thirteenth century MS. Harl. 1,527.

They were called *Friars* because, out of humility, their founders would not have them called *Father* and *Dominus*, like the monks, but simply *Brother* (*Frater, Frère, Friar*).

The DOMINICANS and FRANCISCANS arose simultaneously at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Dominic, an Augustinian canon a Spaniard of noble birth, was seized with a zeal for converting heretics, and having gradually associated a few ecclesiastics with himself, he at length conceived the idea of founding an order of men who should spend their lives in preaching. Simultaneously Francis, the son of a rich Italian merchant was inspired with a design to establish a new order of men, who should spend their lives in preaching the Gospel and doing works of charity among the people. These two men met in Rome in the year 1216 A.D., and some attempt was made to induce them to unite their institutions in one; but Francis was unwilling, and the Pope sanctioned both. Both adopted the Augustinian rule, and both required not only that their followers personally should have no property but also that they should not possess any property collectively as a body; their followers were to work for a livelihood, or to live on alms. The two orders retained something of the character of their founders: the Dominicans that of the learned, energetic, dogmatic, and stern controversialist; they were defenders of the orthodox faith, not only by argument, but by the terrors of the Inquisition, which was in their hands; even as their master

S. Dominic and S. Francis.

ightly or wrongly, said to have sanctioned the cruelties which were l against the Albigenses when his preaching had failed to convince n. The Franciscans retained something of the character of the pious, ent, fanciful enthusiast from whom they took their name.

Dominic gave to his order the name Preaching Friars; more commonly were styled Dominicans, or, from colour of their habits, Black Friars* eir habit consisting of a white tunic, ened with a white girdle, over that hite scapulary, and over all a black tle and hood, and shoes; the lay hren wore a black scapulary.

A Dominican Friar.

he woodcut which we give on preceding page of two friars, with names, DOMINIC and FRANCIS, ibed over them, is taken from a esentation in a MS. of the end of hirteenth century (Sloan 346), of a nd of a vision of Dominic related he "Legenda Aurea," in which the in Mary is deprecating the wrath of st, about to destroy the world for its iniquity, and presenting to him inic and Francis, with a promise that they will convert the world from ickedness. The next woodcut is from Hollar's print in the "Monas-n." An early fifteenth century illustration of a Dominican friar, in k mantle and brown hood over a white tunic, may be found on the last of the Harleian MS., 1,527. A fine picture of St. Dominic, by o Zoppo (1471-98), in the National Gallery, shows the costume admi-; he stands preaching, with book and rosary in his left hand. The inican nuns wore the same dress with a white veil. They had, accord-o the last edition of the "Monasticon," fifty-eight houses in England.

* In France, Jacobins.

The Franciscans were styled by their founder Fratri Minori—lesse brothers, Friars Minors; they were more usually called Grey Friars, fro the colour of their habits, or Cordeliers, from the knotted cord whic formed their characteristic girdle. Their habit was originally a grey tun with long loose sleeves (but not quite so loose as those of the Benedictines a knotted cord for a girdle, and a black hood; the feet always bare, only protected by sandals. In the fifteenth century the colour of th habit was altered to a dark brown. The woodcut is from Hollar's prin A picture of St. Francis, by Felippino Lippi (1460—1505), in the Nation Gallery shows the costume very clearly. Piers Ploughman describes th irregular indulgences in habit worn by le strict members of the order:—

A Franciscan Friar.

"In cutting of his cope
Is more cloth y-folden
Than was in Frauncis' froc,
When he them first made.
And yet under that cope
A coat hath he, furred
With foyns or with fichews
Or fur of beaver,
And that is cut to the knee,
And quaintly y-buttoned
Lest any spiritual man
Espie that guile.
Fraunceys bad his brethren
Barefoot to wenden.
Now have they buckled shoon
For blenying [blistering] of ther heels,
And hosen in harde weather
Y-hamled [tied] by the ancle."

A beautiful little picture of St. Fran receiving the stigmata may be found i Book of Offices of the end of the fourtee century (Harl. 2,897, f. 407 v.). Another fifteenth-century picture of the sa subject is in a Book of Hours (Harl. 5,328, f. 123). Some fine sixteen century authorities for Franciscan costumes are in the MS. life of St. Fran (Harl. 3,229, f. 26). The principal picture represents St. Bonaventura saint of the order, in a gorgeous cope over his brown frock and hood, sea

ing in his cell; through the open door is seen a corridor with doors ning off it to other cells. In the corners of the page are other pictures St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Bernardine, and another saint, and St. re, foundress of the female order of Franciscans. A very good mination of two Franciscans in grey frocks and hoods, girded with e and barefooted, will be found in the MS. Add. 17,687 of date 1498. Franciscan nuns, or Minoresses, or Poor Clares, as they were etimes called, from St. Clare, the patron saint and first nun of order, wore the same habit as the monks, only with a black veil ead of a hood. For another illustration of minoresses see MS. Royal 6, f. 111, v. The Franciscans were first introduced into England, anterbury, in the year 1223 A.D., and there were sixty-five houses of order in England, besides four of minoresses.

hile the Dominicans retained their unity of organisation to the the Franciscans divided into several branches, under the names of orites, Capuchins, Minims, Observants, Recollets, &c.

he CARMELITE FRIARS had their origin, as their name indicates, in the . According to their own traditions, ever since the days of Elijah, n they claim as their founder, the rocks of Carmel have been inhabited succession of hermits, who have lived after the pattern of the great het. Their institution as an order of friars, however, dates from the nning of the thirteenth century, when Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, them a rule, founded upon, but more severe than, that of St. Basil; gave them a habit of white and red stripes, which, according to ion, was the fashion of the wonder-working mantle of their prophet- ler. The order immediately spread into the West, and Pope orius III. sanctioned it, and changed the habit to a white frock over k brown tunic; and very soon after, the third general of the order, nglishman, Simon Stock, added the scapulary, of the same colour as nic, by which they are to be distinguished from the Premonstratensian ns, whose habit is the same, except that it wants the scapulary. the colour of the habit the popular English name for the Carmelites he White Friars. Sir John de Vesci, an English crusader, in the part of the thirteenth century, made the ascent of Mount Carmel,

and found these religious living there, claiming to be the successors Elijah. The romantic incident seems to have interested him, and brought back some of them to Englan and thus introduced the order here, whe it became more popular than elsewhere Europe, but it was never an influenti order. They had ultimately fifty houses England.

A Carmelite Friar.

The Austin Friars were founded the middle of the thirteenth centu There were still at that time some sm communities which were not enroll among any of the great recognised orde and a great number of hermits and so taries, who lived under no rule at a Pope Innocent IV. decreed that all the hermits, solitaries, and separate commu ties, should be incorporated into a n order, under the rule of St. Augustine, wi some stricter clauses added, under t name of Ermiti Augustini, Hermits of Augustine, or, as they were popularly called, Austin Friars. Their exteri habit was a black gown with broad sleeves, girded with a leather belt, a black cloth hood. There were forty-five houses of them in England.

There were also some minor orders of friars, who do not need a detail description. The Crutched (crossed) Friars, so called because they h a red cross on the back and breast of their blue habit, were introduced i England in the middle of the thirteenth century, and had ten houses he The Friars de Pœnitentiâ, or the Friars of the Sack, were introduced little later, and had nine houses. And there were six other friaries obscure orders. But all these minor mendicant orders—all except the f great orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Carmelites were suppressed by the Council of Lyons, A.D. 1370.

Chaucer lived in the latter half of the fourteenth century, when, a

undred and forty years' existence, the orders of friars, or at least many ividuals of the orders, had lost much of their primitive holiness and zeal. s avowed purpose is to satirise their abuses; so that, while we quote n largely for the life-like pictures of ancient customs and manners ich he gives us, we must make allowance for the exaggerations of a irist, and especially we must not take the faulty or vicious individuals, om it suits his purpose, to depict, as fair samples of the whole class. have a nineteenth-century satirist of the failings and foibles of the rgy, to whom future generations will turn for illustrations of the life of hedral towns and country parishes. We know how wrongly they would pose that Dr. Proudie was a fair sample of nineteenth-century bishops, Dr. Grantley of archdeacons "of the period," or Mr. Smylie of the ngelical clergy; we know there is no real bishop, archdeacon, or umbent among us of whom those characters, so cleverly and amusingly, l in one sense so truthfully, drawn, are anything but exaggerated enesses. With this caution, we do not hesitate to borrow illustrations of subject from Chaucer and other contemporary writers.

In his description of Friar Hubert, who was one of the Canterbury grims, he tells us how—

"Full well beloved and familiar was he
With frankelins over all in his countrie;
And eke with worthy women of the town,*
For he had power of confession,
As said himself, more than a curate,
For of his order he was licenciate.
Full sweetely heard he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution.
He was an easy man to give penance
There as he wist to have a good pittance,
For unto a poor order for to give,
Is signe that a man is well y-shrive.
* * * *
His tippet was aye farsed† full of knives
And pinnés for to give to fairé wives.
And certainly he had a merry note,
Well could he sing and playen on a rote.‡
* * * *

* Wives of burgesses. † Stuffed. ‡ Musical instrument so called.

And over all there as profit should arise,
Courteous he was, and lowly of service.
There was no man no where so virtuous,
He was the beste beggar in all his house,
And gave a certain ferme for the grant
None of his brethren came in his haunt."

As to his costume :—

For there was he not like a cloisterer,
With threadbare cope, as is a poor scholar,
But he was like a master or a pope,
Of double worsted was his semi-cope,*
That round was as a bell out of the press."

In the Sompnour's tale the character, here merely sketched, is worke out in detail, and gives such a wonderfully life-like picture of a friar, ar of his occupation, and his intercourse with the people, that we cannot d better than lay considerable extracts from it before our readers :—

"Lordings there is in Yorkshire, as I guess,
A marsh country y-called Holderness,
In which there went a limitour† about
To preach, and eke to beg, it is no doubt.
And so befel that on a day this frere
Had preached at a church in his mannére,
And specially aboven every thing
Excited he the people in his preaching
To trentals,‡ and to give for Goddé's sake,
Wherewith men mighten holy houses make,
There as divine service is honoured,
Not there as it is wasted and devoured.§

* Piers Ploughman (creed 3, line 434), describing a burly Dominican friar, descri his cloak or cope in the same terms, and describes the under gown, or kirtle, also :—

"His cope that beclypped him
Wel clean was it folden,
Of double worsted y-dyght
Down to the heel.
His kirtle of clean white,
Cleanly y-served,
It was good enough ground
Grain for to beren."

† A limitour, as has been explained above, was a friar whose functions were limi to a certain district of country ; a lister might exercise his office wherever he listed.

‡ Thirty masses for the repose of a deceased person.

§ Viz., in convents of friars, not in monasteries of monks and by the secular clergy

'Trentals,' said he, 'deliver from penance
Ther friendés' soules, as well old as young,
Yea, when that they are speedily y-sung.
Not for to hold a priest jolly and gay,
He singeth not but one mass* of a day,
Deliver out,' quoth he, 'anon† the souls.
Full hard it is, with flesh-hook or with owles
To be y-clawed, or to burn or bake:
Now speed you heartily, for Christé's sake.'
And when this frere had said all his intent,
With *qui cum patre*‡ forth his way he went;
When folk in church had given him what they lest
He went his way, no longer would he rest."

Then he takes his way through the village with his brother friar (it ems to have been the rule for them to go in couples) and a servant after m to carry their sack, begging at every house.

"With scrippe and tipped staff, y-tucked high,
In every house he gan to pore and pry;
And begged meal or cheese, or ellés corn.
His fellow had a staff tipped with horn,
A pair of tables all of ivory,
And a pointel y-polished fetisly,
And wrote always the namés, as he stood,
Of allé folk that gave them any good,
As though that he woulde for them pray.
'Give us a bushel of wheat, or malt, or rye,
A Goddé's kichel,§ or a trippe of cheese;
Or ellés what you list, we may not chese; ‖
A Goddé's halfpenny, or a mass penny,
Or give us of your bran, if ye have any,
A dagon ¶ of your blanket, dearé dame,
Our sister dear (lo! here I write your name):
Bacon or beef, or such thing as you find.'
A sturdy harlot** went them aye behind,

---

*He was forbidden to say more.

†A convent of friars used to undertake masses for the dead, and each friar saying one whole number of masses was speedily completed, whereas a single priest saying his mass a day would be very long completing the number, and meantime the souls were used to be in torment.

‡The usual way of concluding a sermon, in those days as in these, was with an ascription of praise, "Who with the Father," &c.

§ Cake. ‖ Choose. ¶ Slip or piece. ** Hired man.

That was their hosté's man, and bare a sack,
And what men gave them laid it on his back.
And when that he was out at door, anon
He planed away the names every one,
That he before had written on his tables;
He served them with triffles* and with fables."

At length he comes to a house in which, the goodwife being *devôte*, has been accustomed to be hospitably received:—

"So along he went, from house to house, till he
Came to a house where he was wont to be
Refreshed more than in a hundred places.
Sick lay the husbandman whose that the place is;
Bedrid upon a couché low he lay:
'*Deus hic*,' quoth he, 'O Thomas, friend, good day!'
Said this frere, all courteously and soft.
'Thomas,' quoth he, 'God yield† it you, full oft
Have I upon this bench fared full well,
Here have I eaten many a merry meal.'
And from the bench he drove away the cat,
And laid adown his potent‡ and his hat,
And eke his scrip, and set himself adown:
His fellow was y-walked into town
Forth with his knave, into that hostlery
Where as he shope him thilké night to lie
'O deré master,' quoth this sické man,
'How have ye fared since that March began?
I saw you not this fourteen night and more.'
'God wot,' quoth he, 'laboured have I full sore;
And specially for thy salvation
Have I sayd many a precious orison,
And for our other friendes, God them bless.
I have this day been at your church at messe,
And said a sermon to my simple wit.
* * * *
And there I saw our dame. Ah! where is she?'
'Yonder I trow that in the yard she be,'
Saidé this man, 'and she will come anon.'
'Eh master, welcome be ye, by St. John!'
Saide this wife; 'how fare ye heartily?'
This friar ariseth up full courteously,
And her embraceth in his armés narwe,§
And kisseth her sweet, and chirketh as a sparrow

* Trifles. † Requite. ‡ Staff. § Closely.

With his lippes : 'Dame,' quoth he, 'right well,
As he that is your servant every deal.*
Thanked be God that you gave soul and life,
Yet saw I not this day so fair a wife
In all the churché, God so save me.'
'Yea, God amendé defaults, sire,' quoth she:
'Algates welcome be ye, by my fay.'
'*Graunt mercy*, dame; that have I found alway.
But of your great goodness, by your levé,
I wouldé pray you that ye not you grieve,
I will with Thomas speak a little throw;
These curates be so negligent and slow
To searchen tenderly a conscience.
In shrift, in preaching, is my diligence,
And study, on Peter's words and on Paul's,
I walk and fishen Christian menne's souls,
To yield our Lord Jesu his proper rent;
To spread his word is set all mine intent.'
'Now, by your faith, dere sir,' quoth she,
'Chide him well for Seinté Charitee.
He is as angry as a pissemire,'" &c.

Whereupon the friar begins at once to scold the goodman :—

"'O Thomas, *je vous die*, Thomas, Thomas,
This maketh the fiend, this must be amended.
Ire is a thing that high God hath defended,†
And therefore will I speak a word or two.'
'Now, master,' quoth the wife, 'ere that I go,
What will ye dine? I will go thereabout.'
'Now, dame,' quoth he, '*je vous dis sans doubte*,
Have I not of a capon but the liver,
And of your white bread but a shiver,
And after that a roasted piggé's head
(But I ne would for me no beast were dead),
Then had I with you homely suffisance;
I am a man of little sustenance,
My spirit hath his fostering in the Bible.
My body is aye so ready and so penible
To waken, that my stomach is destroyed.
I pray you, dame, that ye be not annoyed,
Though I so friendly you my counsel shew.
By God! I n'old‡ have told it but a few.'

* Part. † Forbidden. ‡ Would not.

'Now, sir,' quoth she, 'but one word ere I go.
My child is dead within these weekés two,
Soon after that ye went out of this town.' *
'His death saw I by revelation,'
Said this frere, 'at home in our dortour.†
I dare well say that ere that half an hour
After his death, I saw him borne to blisse
In mine vision, so God me wisse.
So did our sexton and our fermerere,‡
That have been trué friars fifty year;
They may now, God be thanked of his loan,
Make their jubilee and walke alone.'"§

We do not care to continue the blasphemous lies with which he pla upon the mother's tenderness for her dead babe. At length, addressi the sick goodman, he continues:—

"'Thomas, Thomas, so might I ride or go,
And by that lord that cleped is St. Ive,
N'ere‖ thou our brother, shouldest thou not thrive,
In our chapter pray we ¶ day and night
To Christ that he thee send hele and might**
Thy body for to welden hastily.'
'God wot,' quoth he, 'I nothing thereof feel,
So help me Christ, as I in fewé years
Have spended upon divers manner freres
Full many a pound, yet fare I never the bet.'
The frere answered, 'O Thomas, dost thou so?
What need have you diverse friars to seche?
What needeth him that hath a perfect leech††
To seeken other leches in the town?
Your inconstancy is your confusion.
Hold ye then me, or elles our convent,
To pray for you is insufficient?
Thomas, that jape is not worth a mite;
Your malady is for we have too lite.‡‡

* The good man also said he had not seen the friar "this fourteen nights:"—Di limitour go round once a fortnight?

† The dormitory of the convent.

‡ Infirmarer.

§ Aged monks and friars lived in the Infirmary, and had certain privileges.

‖ Wert thou not.

¶ Implying, whether truly or not, that he had been enrolled in the fraternity of nouse, and was prayed for, with other benefactors, in chapter.

** Health and strength. †† Doctor. ‡‡ Little.

Ah! give that convent half a quarter of oates;
And give that convent four and twenty groats;
And give that friar a penny and let him go;
Nay, nay, Thomas, it may nothing be so;
What is a farthing worth parted in twelve?"

l so he takes up the cue the wife had given him, and reads him a
g sermon on anger, quoting Seneca, and giving, for instances, Cambyses
Cyrus, and at length urges him to confession. To this—

"'Nay,' quoth the sick man, 'by Saint Simon,
I have been shriven this day by my curate.'
* * * * * *
'Give me then of thy gold to make our cloister,'

again he proclaims the virtues and morals of his order.

"'For if ye lack our predication,*
Then goth this world all to destruction.
For whoso from this world would us bereave,
So God me save, Thomas, by your leave,
He would bereave out of this world the sun,' &c.

so ends with the ever-recurring burden :—

"'Now, Thomas, help for Sainte Charitee.'
This sicke man wax well nigh wood for ire,†
He woulde that the frere had been a fire,
With his false dissimulation;"

proceeds to play a practical joke upon him, which will not bear even
ng at, but which sufficiently shows that superstition did not prevent
from taking great liberties, expressing the utmost contempt of these
. Moreover,—

"His mennie which had hearden this affray,
Came leaping in and chased out the frere."

ius ignominiously turned out of the goodman's house, the friar goes
ie court-house of the lord of the village :—

"A sturdy pace down to the court he goth,
Whereat there woned ‡ a man of great honour,
To whom this friar was alway confessour;
This worthy man was lord of that village.

* Preaching; he was probably a preaching friar—*i.e.*, a Dominican.
† Waxed nearly mad. ‡ Lived.

This frere came, as he were in a rage,
Whereas this lord sat eating at his board.
* * * *
This lord gan look, and saide, '*Benedicite !*
What, frere John ! what manner of world is this ?
I see well that something there is amiss.' "

We need only complete the picture by adding the then actors in it :—

"The lady of the house aye stille sat,
Till she had herde what the friar said."

And

"Now stood the lorde's squire at the board,
That carved his meat, and hearde every word
Of all the things of which I have you said."

And it needs little help of the imagination to complete this co temporary picture of an English fourteenth-century village, with its lo and its well-to-do farmer, and its villagers, its village inn, its parish chur and priest, and the fortnightly visit of the itinerant friars.

We have now completed our sketch of the rise of the religious orde and of their general character; we have only to conclude this portion our task with a brief history of their suppression in England. Henry VI had resoved to break with the pope; the religious orders were gre upholders of the papal supremacy; the friars especially were called "t pope's militia;" the king resolved, therefore, upon the destruction the friars. The pretext was a reform of the religious orders. At the e of the year 1535 a royal commission undertook the visitation of all t religious houses, above one thousand three hundred in number, includi their cells and hospitals. They performed their task with incredib celerity—"the king's command was exceeding urgent;" and in ten wee they presented their report. The small houses they reported to be full irregularity and vice; while "in the great solemne monasteries, than be to God, religion was right well observed and kept up." So the kin decree went forth, and parliament ratified it, that all the religious hous of less than £200 annual value should be suppressed. This just caug all the friaries, and a few of the less powerful monasteries for the sake impartiality. Perhaps the monks were not greatly moved at the destru tion which had come upon their rivals; but their turn very speedily cam

ey were not suppressed forcibly; but they were induced to surrender. e patronage of most of the abbacies was in the king's hands, or under control. He induced some of the abbots by threats or cajolery, and offer of place and pension, to surrender their monasteries into his d; others he induced to surrender their abbatial offices only, into ch he placed creatures of his own, who completed the surrender. ne few intractable abbots—like those of Reading, Glastonbury, and John's, Colchester, who would do neither one nor the other—were found lty of high treason—no difficult matter when it had been made high ason by act of Parliament to "publish in words" that the king was an eretic, schismatic, or tyrant"—and they were disposed of by hanging, wing, and quartering. The Hospitallers of Clerkenwell were still more icult to deal with, and required a special act of Parliament to suppress m. Those who gave no trouble were rewarded with bishoprics, livings, l pensions; the rest were turned adrift on the wide world, to dig, or , or starve. We are not defending the principle of monasticism; it be that, with the altered circumstances of the church and nation, day of usefulness of the monasteries had passed. But we cannot rain an expression of indignation at the shameless, reckless manner he suppression. The commissioners suggested, and Bishop Latimer eated in vain, that two or three monasteries should be left in every e for religious, and learned, and charitable uses; they were all shared ong the king and his courtiers. The magnificent churches were pulled n; the libraries, of inestimable value, were destroyed; the alms which monks gave to the poor, the hospitals which they maintained for the and impotent, the infirmaries for the sick, the schools for the people ll went in the wreck; and the tithes of parishes which were in the ds of the monasteries, were swallowed up indiscriminately—they were men to strain at such gnats while they were swallowing camels—e three thousand parishes, including those of the most populous and ortant towns, were left impoverished to this day. No wonder that the tains of religious endowment in England have been dried up ever e;—and the course of modern legislation is not calculated to set them n a-flowing.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONVENT.

HAVING thus given a sketch of the history of the various monast orders in England, we proceed to give some account of t constitution of a convent, taking that of a Benedictine monaste as a type, from which the other orders departed only in minor particulars

The *convent* is the name especially appropriate to the body of in viduals who composed a religious community. These were the bo of cloister monks, lay and clerical; the professed brethren, who we also lay and clerical; the clerks; the novices; and the servants a artificers. The servants and artificers were of course taken from the low ranks of society; all the rest were originally of the most various degre of rank and social position. We constantly meet with instances of nob men and women, knights and ladies, minstrels and merchants, quitti their secular occupations at various periods of their life, and taking t religious habit; some of them continuing simply professed brethren, othe rising to high offices in their order. Scions of noble houses were n infrequently entered at an early age as novices, either devoted to t religious life by the piety of their parents, or, with more worldly motiv thus provided with a calling and a maintenance; and sometimes co siderable interest was used to procure the admittance of novices into t great monasteries. Again, the children of the poor were received into t monastic schools, and such as showed peculiar aptitude were sometimes length admitted as monks,* and were eligible, and were often chosen, the highest ecclesiastical dignities.

* "On the foundation," as we say now of colleges and endowed schools.

The whole convent was under the government of the *abbot*, who, how-
er, was bound to govern according to the rule of the order. Sometimes
was elected by the convent; sometimes the king or some patron
l a share in the election. Frequently there were estates attached to
office, distinct from those of the convent; sometimes the abbot had
y an allowance out of the convent estates; but always he had great
wer over the property of the convent, and bad abbots are frequently
used of wasting the property of the house, and enriching their relatives
l friends out of it. The abbots of some of the more important houses
re mitred abbots, and were summoned to Parliament. In the time of
nry VIII. twenty-four abbots and the prior of Coventry had seats in the
use of Peers.*

The abbot did not live in common with his monks; he had a separate
ablishment of his own within the precincts of the house, sometimes over
entrance gate, called the Abbot's Lodgings.† He ate in his own hall,
pt in his own chamber, had a chapel, or oratory, for his private devotions,
l accommodation for a retinue of chaplains and servants. His duty
s to set to his monks an example of observance of the rule, to keep
m to its observance, to punish breaches of it, to attend the services in
urch when not hindered by his other duties, to preach on holy days to
people, to attend chapter and preach on the rule, to act as confessor
the monks. But an abbot was also involved in many secular duties;
re were manors of his own, and of the convent's, far and near, which
uired visiting; and these manors involved the abbot in all the numerous

* "Maysters of divinite
Her matynes to leve,
And cherliche [richly] as a cheveteyn
His chaumbre to holden,
With chymene and chaple,
And chosen whom him list,
And served as a sovereyn,
And as a lord sytten."
Piers Ploughman, l. 1,157.

† Just as heads of colleges now have their Master's, or Provost's, or Principal's Lodge.
e constitution of our existing colleges will assist those who are acquainted with them
understanding many points of monastic economy.

duties which the feudal system devolved upon a lord towards his tenar and towards his feudal superior. The greater abbots were barons, a sometimes were thus involved in such duties as those of justices in ey military leaders of their vassals, peers of Parliament. Hospitality w one of the great monastic virtues. The usual regulation in convents w that the abbot should entertain all guests of gentle degree, while t convent entertained all others. This again found abundance of occu

A Benedictine Abbot.

tion for my lord abbot in performing the offices of a courteous host, which see to have been done in a way becoming character as a lord of wealth and dignit his table was bountifully spread, even if chose to confine himself to pulse a water; a band of wandering minstrels w always welcome to the abbot's hall entertain his gentle and fair guests; a his falconer could furnish a cast of haw and his forester a leash of hounds, and t lord abbot would not decline to ride the river or into his manor parks to w ness and to share in the sport. In Harl. MS. 1,527, at fol. 108 (?), is picture of an abbot on horseback cast off a hawk from his fist. A pretty li illustration of this abbatial hospita occurs in Marie's "Lay of Ywonec."* baron and his family are travelling in obedience to the royal summons, keep one of the high festivals at Caerleon. In the course of their jour they stop for a night at a spacious abbey, where they are received with greatest hospitality. "The good abbot, for the sake of detaining his gu during another day, exhibited to them the whole of the apartments, dormitory, the refectory, and the chapter-house, in which last they beh

* Ellis's "Early English Romances."

lendid tomb covered with a superb pall fringed with gold, surrounded wenty waxen tapers in golden candlesticks, while a vast silver censer, tantly burning, filled the air with fumes of incense."

n abbot's ordinary habit was the same as that of his monks. In the essions which were made on certain great feasts he held his crosier, if he were a mitred abbot, he wore his mitre: this was also his parliaary costume. We give on the opposite page a beautiful drawing of a dictine abbot of St. Alban's, thus habited, from the *Catalogus Benefac-* of that abbey. When the abbot celebrated high mass on certain great ais he wore the full episcopal costume. Thomas Delamere, abbot . Alban's, is so represented in his magnificent sepulchral brass in that y, executed in his lifetime, circa 1375 A.D. Richard Bewferest, abbot e Augustine canons of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, has a brass in that

Benedictine Abbess and Nun.

, date circa 1520 A.D., representing him in episcopal costume, bare- d, with his staff; and in the same church is an incised gravestone, enting Abbot Roger, circa 1510 A.D., in full episcopal vestments. ses bore the crosier in addition to the ordinary costume of their the sepulchral brass of Elizabeth Harvey, abbess of the Benedictine of Elstow, Bedfordshire, circa 1530 A.D., thus represents her, in the

church of that place. Our representation of a Benedictine abbess on
previous page is from the fourteenth century MS. Royal, 2 B. vii.

Under the abbot were a number of officials (*obedientiarii*), the chief
whom were the Prior, Precentor, Cellarer, Sacrist, Hospitaller, Infirma
Almoner, Master of the Novices, Porter, Kitchener, Seneschal, &c.
was only in large monasteries that all these officers were to be found;
the smaller houses one monk would perform the duties of several offic
The officers seem to have been elected by the convent, subject to
approval of the abbot, by whom they might be deposed. Some brief no
of the duties of these obedientiaries will serve to give a considera
insight into the economy of a convent. And first for the *Prior*:—

In some orders there was only one abbey, and all the other houses w
priories, as in the Clugniac, the Gilbertine, and in the Military and
Mendicant orders. In all the orders there were abbeys, which had
distant estates granted to them, on which either the donor had buil
house, and made it subject to the abbey; or the abbey had built a ho
for the management of the estates, and the celebration of divine
charitable offices upon them. These priories varied in size, from a m
cell containing a prior and two monks, to an establishment as large as
abbey; and the dignity and power of the prior varied from that of a m
steward of the distant estate of the parent house, to that of an autocr
head, only nominally dependent on the parent house, and himself in ev
thing but name an abbot.

The majority of the female houses of the various orders (except th
which were especially female orders, like the Brigittines, &c.) were
subject to some monastery, so that the superiors of these houses usu
bore only the title of prioress, though they had the power of an abbes
the internal discipline of the house. One cannot forbear to quote at l
a portion of Chaucer's very beautiful description of his prioress, among
Canterbury pilgrims:—

> "That of her smiling ful simple was and coy."

She sang the divine service sweetly; she spoke French correctly, tho
with an accent which savoured of the Benedictine convent at Stratfor

where she had been educated, rather than of Paris; she behaved lady-like delicacy at table; she was cheerful of mood, and amiable; a pretty affectation of courtly breeding, and a care to exhibit a end stateliness becoming her office:—

"But for to speken of her conscience,
She was so charitable and so piteous,
She would wepe if that she saw a mouse
Caught in a trappe, if it were dead or bled;
Of smalé houndés had she that she fed
With rosted flesh, and milk, and wastel bread;
But sore wept she if one of them were dead,
Or if men smote it with a yerdé smerte;
And all was conscience and tendre herte.
Ful semély her wimple y-pinched was;
Her nose tretis,* her eyen grey as glass,
Her mouth full small, and thereto soft and red,
And sickerly she had a fayre forehed—
It was almost a spanné broad I trow,
And hardily she was not undergrow."†

abit was becoming; her beads were of red coral gauded with green, ich was hung a jewel of gold, on which was—

"Written a crowned A,
And after, *Amor vincit omnia.*
Another nun also with her had she,
That was her chapelleine, and priestés three."

in abbeys the chief of the obedientiaries was styled prior; and we t, perhaps, give a better idea of his functions than by borrowing a analogy, and calling him the abbot's first lieutenant; for, like that in a ship, the prior at all times carried on the internal discipline of nvent, and in the abbot's absence he was his vicegerent; wielding all bot's powers, except those of making or deposing obedientiaries and crating novices. He had a suite of apartments of his own, called the chamber, or the prior's lodging; he could leave the house for a day on the business of the house, and had horses and servants appro- d to his use; whenever he entered the monks present rose out of

* Long and well proportioned.
† She was of tall stature.

respect; some little license in diet was allowed him in refectory, and might also have refreshment in his own apartments; sometimes he en tained guests of a certain condition in his prior's chamber. Neither prior, nor any of the obedientiaries, wore any distinctive dress or ba of office. In large convents he was assisted by a sub-prior.

The *Sub-prior* was the prior's deputy, sharing his duties in his reside and fulfilling them in his absences. The especial functions appropria to him seem to have been to say grace at dinner and supper, to see all the doors were locked at five in the evening, and keep the keys u five next morning; and, by sleeping near the dormitory door, and making private search, to prevent wandering about at night. In l monasteries there were additional sub-priors.

The *Chantor*, or *Precentor*, appears to come next in order and dig since we are told that he was censed after the abbot and prior. He choir-master; taught music to the monks and novices; and arranged ruled everything which related to the conduct of divine service. His p in church was in the middle of the choi the right side; he held an instrument in hand, as modern leaders use a bâton; his side of the choir commenced the ch He was besides librarian, and keeper of archives, and keeper of the abbey seal.

Adam the Cellarer.

He was assisted by a *Succentor*, who sa the left side of the choir, and led that ha the choir in service. He assisted the char and in his absence undertook his duties.

The *Cellarer* was in fact the steward of house; his modern representative is bursar of a college. He had the ca everything relating to the provision of food and vessels of the convent. He exempt from the observance of some of services in church; he had the use horses and servants for the fulfilment of his duties, and sometime

ears to have had separate apartments. The cellarer, as we have said, e no distinctive dress or badge; but in the *Catalogus Benefactorum* t. Alban's there occurs a portrait of one "Adam Cellarius," who for listinguished merit had been buried among the abbots in the chapter- se, and had his name and effigy recorded in the *Catalogus;* he is ing two keys in one hand and a purse in the other, the symbols of his e; and in his quaint features—so different from those of the dignified ot whom we have given from the same book—the limner seems to given us the type of a business-like and not ungenial cellarer.

he *Sacrist,* or *Sacristan* (whence our word sexton), had the care and ge of the fabric, and furniture, and ornaments of the church, and rally of all the material appliances of divine service. He, or some in his stead, slept in a chamber built for him in the church, in order rotect it during the night. There is such a chamber in St. Alban's ey Church, engraved in the *Builder* for August, 1856. There was a sub-sacrist to assist the sacrist in his duties.

he duty of the *Hospitaller* was, as his name implies, to perform the s of hospitality on behalf of the convent. The monasteries received avellers to food and lodging for a day and a night as of right, and for ger period if the prior saw reason to grant it.* A special hall was ded for the entertainment of these guests, and chambers for their mmodation. The hospitaller performed the part of host on behalf of onvent, saw to the accommodation of the guests who belonged to the ent, introduced into the refectory strange priests or others who desired had leave to dine there, and ushered guests of degree to the abbot to ntertained by him. He showed the church and house at suitable to guests whose curiosity prompted the desire.

ery abbey had an infirmary, which was usually a detached building its own kitchen and chapel, besides suitable apartments for the sick,

* "And as touching the almesse that they (the monks) delt, and the hospitality that kept, every man knoweth that many thousands were well received of them, and have been better, if they had not so many great men's horse to fede, and had not overcharged with such idle gentlemen as were never out of the abaies (abbeys)."—*A Complaint made to Parliament not long after the dissolution, quoted in Coke's Institutes.*

and for aged monks, who sometimes took up their permanent residence the infirmary, and were excused irksome duties, and allowed indulgen in food and social intercourse. Not only the sick monks, but other s folk were received into the infirmary; it is a very common incident mediæval romances to find a wounded knight carried to a neighbour monastery to be healed. The officer who had charge of everyth relating to this department was styled the *Infirmarer*. He slept in infirmary, was excused from some of the "hours;" in the great houses two brethren to assist him besides the necessary servants, and ofte clerk learned in pharmacy as physician.

The *Almoner* had charge of the distribution of the alms of the ho Sometimes money was left by benefactors to be distributed to the p annually at their obits; the distribution of this was confided to almoner. One of his men attended in the abbot's chamber when he guests, to receive what alms they chose to give to the poor. Mo belonging to the convent were also devoted to this purpose; besides f and drink, the surplus of the convent meals. He had assistants allo him to go and visit the sick and infirm folk of the neighbourhood. An Christmas he provided cloth and shoes for widows, orphans, poor cle and others whom he thought to need it most.

The *Master of the Novices* was a grave and learned monk, who sup tended the education of the youths in the schools of the abbey, taught the rule to those who were candidates for the monastic professi

The *Porter* was an officer of some importance; he was chosen fo age and gravity; he had an apartment in the gate lodge, an assistant, a lad to run on his messages. But sometimes the porter seems to have a layman. And, in small houses and in nunneries, his office involved c duties, which we have seen in great abbeys distributed among a numb officials. Thus, in Marie's "Lay le Fraine," we read of the porter o abbey of nuns:—

> "The porter of the abbey arose,
> And did his office in the close;
> Rung the bells, and tapers light,
> Laid forth books and all ready dight.
> The church door he undid," &c.;

in the sequel it appears that he had a daughter, and therefore in all ıbility was a layman.

ıe *Kitchener*, or *Cook*, was usually a monk, and, as his name implies, ıled in the kitchen, went to market, provided the meals of the e, &c.

e *Seneschal* in great abbeys was often a layman of rank, who did ecular business which the tenure of large estates, and consequently cular offices, devolved upon abbots and convents; such as hold- nanorial courts, and the like. But there was, Fosbroke tells us, ıer officer with the same name, but of inferior dignity, who did

Alan Middleton.

onvent business of the prior and cellarer which was to be done ou' house; and, when at home, carried a rod and acted as marshal guest-hall. He had horses and servants allowed for the duties of fice; and at the Benedictine Abbey of Winchcombe he had a robe rk's cloth once a year, with lamb's fur for a supertunic, and for d of budge fur; he had the same commons in hall as the cellarer, £2 every year at Michaelmas. Probably an officer of this kind was Middleton, who is recorded in the *Catalogus* of St. Alban's as

'collector of rents of the obedientiaries of that monastery, and espe
of those of the bursar." *Prudenter in omnibus se agebat*, and so, dese
well of the house, they put a portrait of him among their benefa
clothed in a blue robe, of "clerk's cloth" perhaps, furred at the wrist
throat with "lamb's fur" or "budge fur;" a small tonsure shows that h
taken some minor order, the penner and inkhorn at his girdle denot
nature of his office; and he is just opening the door of one of the a
tenants to perform his unwelcome function. They were grateful men,
Benedictines of St. Alban's; they have immortalised another of their in

Walter of Hamuntesham attacked by a Mob.

officers, *Walterus de Hamuntesham, fidelis minister hujus ecclesiæ*, be
on one occasion he received a beating at the hands of the rabble
Alban's—*inter villanos Sci Albani*—while standing up for the rights
liberties of the church.

Next in dignity after the obedientiaries come the *Cloister Monk*
these some had received holy orders at the hands of the bishop, some
Their number was limited. A cloister monk in a rich abbey seems to
been something like in dignity to the fellow of a modern college,

deal of interest was sometimes employed to obtain the admission of ıth as a novice, with a view to his ultimately arriving at this dignified ee. Next in order come the *Professed Brethren*. These seem to be ks who had not been elected to the dignity of cloister monks; some em were admitted late in life. Those monks who had been brought the house were called *nutriti*, those who came later in life *conversi*; ay brothers were also sometimes called *conversi*. There were again *Novices*, who were not all necessarily young, for a *conversus* passed gh a noviciate; and even a monk of another order, or of another e of their own order, and even a monk from a cell of their own house, eckoned among the novices. There were also the *Chaplains* of the and other high officials; and frequently there were other clerics in the monastery, who served the chantries in the abbey church, and hurches and chapels which belonged to the monastery and were in its bourhood. Again, there were the *Artificers and Servants* of the stery: millers, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, smiths, and similar arti- were often a part of a monastic establishment. And there were rous men-servants, grooms, and the like: these were all under n vows, and were kept under discipline. In the Cistercian abbey averley there were in 1187 A.D. seventy monks and one hundred and y *conversi*, besides priests, clerks, servants, &c. In the great Bene- e abbey of St. Edmund's Bury, in the time of Edward I., there eighty monks; fifteen chaplains attendant on the abbot and chief rs; about one hundred and eleven servants in the various offices, residing within the walls of the monastery; forty priests, offici- in the several chapels, chantries, and monastic appendages in the and an indefinite number of professed brethren. The following notes ive an idea of the occupations of the servants. In the time of m Rufus the servants at Evesham numbered—five in the church, n the infirmary, two in the cellar, five in the kitchen, seven in akehouse, four brewers, four menders, two in the bath, two shoe- s, two in the orchard, three gardeners, one at the cloister gate, two great gate, five at the vineyard, four who served the monks when vent out, four fishermen, four in the abbot's chamber, three in the

hall. At Salley Abbey, at the end of the fourteenth century, there w about thirty-five servants, among whom are mentioned the shoemaker barber, the prior's chamberlain, the abbot's cook, the convent cook baker's mate, the baker, brewers, tailor, cowherd, waggoners, pages of kitchen, poultry-keeper, labourers, a keeper of animals and birds, bail foresters, shepherds, smiths: there are others mentioned by name, with a note of their office. But it was only a few of the larger ho which had such numerous establishments as these; the majority of monasteries contained from five to twenty cloister monks. Some of monasteries were famous as places of education, and we must add to t establishment a number of children of good family, and the learned cl or ladies who acted as tutors; thus the abbey of St. Mary, Winchester 1536, contained twenty-six nuns, five priests, thirteen lay sisters, thirty- officers and servants, and twenty-six children, daughters of lords knights, who were brought up in the house.

Lastly, there were a number of persons of all ranks and conditions were admitted to "fraternity." Among the Hospitallers (and probabl was the same with the other orders) they took oath to love the house brethren, to defend the house from ill-doers, to enter that house if did enter any, and to make an annual present to the house. In ret they were enrolled in the register of the house, they received the pra of the brethren, and at death were buried in the cemetery. Chau Dominican friar (p. 48), writes the names of those who gave him donat in his "tables." In the following extract from Piers Ploughman's Cr an Austin friar promises more definitely to have his donors enrolled in fraternity of his house:—

"And gyf thou hast any good,
And will thyself helpen,
Help us herblich therewith.
And here I undertake,
Thou shalt ben brother of oure hous,
And a book habben,
At the next chapetre,
Clerliche enseled.
And then our provincial
Hath power to assoylen

Alle sustren and brethren
That beth of our ordre."

Piers Ploughman's Creed, p. 645.

the book of St. Alban's, which we have before quoted, there is a list of ny persons, knights and merchants, ladies and children, vicars and tors, received *ad fraternitatem hujus monasterii*. In many cases por- its of them are given: they are in the ordinary costume of their time l class, without any badge of their monastic fraternisation.

Chaucer gives several sketches which enable us to fill out our realisation the monks, as they appeared outside the cloister associating with their ow-men. He includes one among the merry company of his Canterbury grims; and first in the Monk's Prologue, makes the Host address the nk thus:—

"'My lord, the monk,' quod he . . . .
'By my trothe I can not tell youre name,
Whether shall I call you my Lord Dan John,
Or Dan Thomas, or elles Dan Albon?
Of what house be ye by your father kin?
I vow to God thou hast a full fair skin;
It is a gentle pasture ther thou goest,
Thou art not like a penaunt* or a ghost.
Upon my faith thou art some officer,
Some worthy sextern or some celerer.
For by my father's soul, as to my dome,
Thou art a maister when thou art at home;
No poure cloisterer, ne non novice,
But a governor both ware and wise.'"

Chaucer himself describes the same monk in his Prologue thus:—

"A monk there was, a fayre for the maisterie,
An out-rider that lovered venerie,†
A manly man to be an abbot able.
Ful many a dainty horse had he in stable;
And when he rode men might his bridle hear
Gingling in a whistling wind as clear,
And eke as loud as doth the chapel bell,
Whereas this lord was keeper of the cell.
The rule of Saint Maur and of Saint Benet,
Because that it was old and somedeal strait,

* A person doing penance. † Hunting.

This ilke monk let olde thinges pace,
And held after the newe world the trace.
He gave not of the text a pulled hen,
That saith, that hunters been not holy men;
Ne that a monk, when he is regneless,*
Is like a fish that is waterless;
That is to say, a monk out of his cloister:
This ilke text he held not worth an oyster.
And I say his opinion was good.
Why should he study, and make himselven wood,
Upon a book in cloister alway to pore,
Or swinkin with his handis, and labour,
As Austin bid? How shall the world be served?
Therefore he was a prickasoure aright:
Greyhounds he had as swift as fowls of flight;
Of pricking and of hunting for the hare
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare.
I saw his sleeves purfled at the hand
With gris, and that the finest of the land.
And for to fasten his hood under his chin
He had of gold y-wrought a curious pin:
A love-knot in the greater end there was.
* * * *
His bootis supple, his horse in great estate;
Now certainly he was a fair prelate."

Again, in the "Shipman's Tale" we learn that such an officer had co siderable freedom, so that he was able to pay very frequent visits to h friends. The whole passage is worth giving:—

"A marchant whilom dwelled at St. Denise,
That riche was, for which men held him wise.
* * * *
This noble marchant held a worthy house,
For which he had all day so great repair
For his largesse, and for his wife was fair.
What wonder is? but hearken to my tale.
Amonges all these guestes great and small
There was a monk, a fair man and a bold,
I trow a thirty winters he was old,
That ever anon was drawing to that place.
This younge monk that was so fair of face,

* Without state.

Acquainted was so with this goodé man,
Sithen that their firste knowledge began,
That in his house as familiar was he
As it possible is any friend to be.
And for as mochel as this goodé man,
And eke this monk, of which that I began,
Were bothé two y-born in one village,
Thé monk him claimeth as for cosinage;
And he again him said not onés nay,
But was as glad thereof, as fowl of day;
For to his heart it was a great plesaunce;
Thus ben they knit with eterne alliance,
And eche of them gan other for to ensure
Of brotherhood, while that life may endure."

Notwithstanding his vow of poverty, he was also able to make presents his friends, for the tale continues:—

"Free was Dan John, and namely of despence
As in that house, and full of diligence
To don plesaunce, and also great costage;
He not forgat to give the leaste page
In all that house, but, after their degree,
He gave the lord, and sithen his mennie,
When that he came, some manner honest thing;
For which they were as glad of his coming
As fowl is fain when that the sun upriseth."

Chaucer does not forget to let us know how it was that this monk came have such liberty and such command of means:—

"This noble monk, of which I you devise,
Hath of his abbot, as him list, licence
(Because he was a man of high prudence,
And eke an officer), out for to ride
To see their granges and their barnés wide."

CHAPTER VII.

THE MONASTERY.

WE proceed next to give some account of the buildings which com pose the fabric of a monastery. And first as to the site. Th orders of the Benedictine family preferred sites as secluded an remote from towns and villages as possible. The Augustinian orders d not cultivate seclusion so strictly; their houses are not unfrequently ne towns and villages, and sometimes a portion of their conventual church—t nave, generally—formed the parish church. The Friaries, Colleges of secul canons, and Hospitals, were generally in or near the towns. There is popular idea that the monks chose out the most beautiful and fertile spo in the kingdom for their abodes. A little reflection would show that t choice of the site of a new monastery must be confined within the limits the lands which the founder was pleased to bestow upon the conve Sometimes the founder gave a good manor, and gave money besides, to he to build the house upon it; sometimes what was given was a tract of un claimed land, upon which the first handful of monks squatted like settlers i new country. Even the settled land, in those days, was only half cultivate and on good land, unreclaimed or only half reclaimed, the skill and ener of a company of first-rate farmers would soon produce great results; barr commons would be dotted over with sheep, and rushy valleys wou become rich pastures covered with cattle, and great clearings in the for would grow green with rye and barley. The revenues of the monas estates would rapidly augment; little of them would be required the coarse dress and frugal fare of the monks; they did not, like the landowners, spend them on gilded armour and jewelled robes, and troo

ırmed retainers, and tournaments, and journeys to court; and so they enough for plentiful charity and unrestricted hospitality, and the sur- they spent upon those magnificent buildings whose very ruins are ong the architectural glories of the land. The Cistercians had an espe- rule that their houses should be built on the lowest possible sites, in en of humility; but it was the general custom in the Middle Ages to ose low and sheltered sites for houses which were not especially nded as strongholds, and therefore it is that we find nearly all monas- es in sheltered spots. To the monks the neighbourhood of a stream of especial importance: when headed up it supplied a pond for their and water-power for their corn-mill. If, therefore, there were within limits of their domain a quiet valley with a rivulet running through it, was the site which the monks would select for their house. And here, de the rivulet, in the midst of the green pasture land of the valley ed with sheep and kine, shut in from the world by the hills, whose were fringed with the forest which stretched for miles around, the ely buildings of the monastery would rise year after year; the cloister rt, and the great church, and the abbot's lodge, and the numerous es, all surrounded by a stone wall with a stately gate-tower, like a dly walled town, and a suburban hamlet of labourers' and servants' ages sheltering beneath its walls.

here was a certain plan for the arrangement of the principal buildings monastery, which, with minor variations, was followed by nearly he monastic orders, except the Carthusians. These latter differed the other orders in this, that each monk had his separate cell, in ch he lived, and ate, and slept apart from the rest, the whole commu- meeting only in church and chapter.* Our limits will not permit us nter into exceptional arrangements.

A plan of the Chartreuse of Clermont is given by Viollet le Duc (Dict. of Architec., pp. 308, 309), and the arrangements of a Carthusian monastery were nearly the same parts of Europe. It consists of a cloister-court surrounded by about twenty square sures. Each enclosure, technically called a "cell," is in fact a little house and n, the little house is in a corner of the enclosure, and consists of three apartments. e middle of the west side of the cloister-court is the oratory, whose five-sided apsidal uary projects into the court. In a small outer court on the west is the prior's

The nucleus of a monastery was the cloister court. It was a quad gular space of green sward, around which were arranged the cloister bu ings, viz., the church, the chapter-house, the refectory, and the dormito The court was called the Paradise—the blessed garden in which inmates passed their lives of holy peace. A porter was often place the cloister-gate, and the monks might not quit its seclusion, nor stran enter to disturb its quiet, save under exceptional circumstances.

The cloister-court had generally, though it is doubtful whether it always the case, a covered ambulatory round its four sides. The amb tories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have usually an open arc on the side facing the court, which supports the groined roof. In fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, instead of an open arcade, we usu find a series of large traceried windows, tolerably close together; in m cases they were glazed, sometimes with painted glass, and formed do less a grand series of scriptural or historical paintings. The blank opposite was also sometimes painted. This covered ambulatory was merely a promenade for the monks; it was the place in which the con assembled regularly every day, at certain hours, for study and meditat and in some instances (*e.g.*, at Durham) a portion of it was fitted up little wooden closets for studies for the elder monks, with book-cupbo in the wall opposite for books. The monks were sometimes burie the cloister, either under the turf in the open square, or beneath the p ment of the ambulatory. There was sometimes a fountain at the corn the cloister, or on its south side near the entrance to the refector which the monks washed before meals.

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lodgings, which is a "cell" like the others, and a building for the entertainme guests. See also a paper on the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace, near Thirsk by Archdeacon Churton before the Yorkshire Architectural Society, in the year 185

* A bird's-eye view of Citeaux, given in Viollet le Duc's "Dictionary of Architec vol. i. p. 271, will give a very good notion of a thirteenth-century monastery. C English monasteries Fountains was perhaps one of the finest, and its existing remai the most extensive of any which are left in England. A plan of it will be found i Walbran's "Guide to Ripon." See also plan of Furness, *Journal of the Archæol Association*, vi. 309; of Newstead (an Augustinian house), ibid. ix. p. 30; and of Du (Benedictine), ibid. xxii. 201.

ie church was always the principal building of a monastery. Many of remain entire, though despoiled of their shrines, and tombs, and altars, costly furniture, and many more remain in ruins, and they fill us with ishment at their magnitude and splendour. Our existing cathedrals in fact, abbey churches; nine or ten of them were the churches of dictine monasteries, the remainder of secular Augustines. But these, eader may imagine, had the wealth of bishops and the offerings of ses lavished upon them, and may not be therefore fair examples of ary abbey churches. But some of them originally were ordinary churches, and were subsequently made Episcopal sees, such as rley, Gloucester, Christ Church Oxford, and Peterborough, which originally Benedictine abbey churches; Bristol was the church of ise of regular canons; Ripon was the church of a college of secular is. The Benedictine churches of Westminster and St. Alban's, and ollegiate church of Southwell, are equal in magnitude and splendour y of the cathedrals; and the ruins of Fountains, and Tintern, and y, show that the Cistercians equalled any of the other orders in the itude and beauty of their churches.

is indeed hard to conceive that communities of a score or two of s should have built such edifices as Westminster and Southwell as e chapels attached to their monasteries. And this, though it is one t of the fact, is not the true one. They did not build them for e chapels to say their daily prayers in; they built them for temples ich they believed that the Eternal and Almighty condescended to ; to whose contemplation and worship they devoted their lives. did not think of the church as an appendage to their monastery, f their monastery as an appendage to the church. The cloister, the shadow and protection of the church, was the court of the le, in which its priests and Levites dwelt.

e church of a monastery was almost always a cross church, with e and aisles; a central tower (in Cistercian churches the tower nly to rise one story above the roof); transepts, which usually have chapels on the north side of each transept, or an aisle divided into chapels by parclose screens; a choir with or without aisles; a

retro-choir or presbytery ; and often a Lady chapel, east of the presby or in some instances parallel with the choir.

The entrance for the monks was usually on the south side opposite t eastern alley of the cloisters ; there was also in Cistercian churches, a some others, a newel stair in the south transept, by means of which the m could descend from their dormitory (which was in the upper story o east side of the cloister court) into the church for the night services, wi going into the open air. The principal entrance for the laity was o north side, and was usually provided with a porch. The great we

A Semi-choir of Franciscan Friars.

entrance was chiefly used for processions; the great entrance gates enclosure wall of the abbey being usually opposite to it or nearly so several instances stones have been found, set in the pavements naves of conventual churches, to mark the places where the di members of the convent were to stand before they issued forth i cession, amidst the tolling of the great bell, with cross and banne chanted psalms, to meet the abbot at the abbey-gate, on his return an absence, or any person to whom it was fitting that the convent show such honour.

internal arrangements of an abbey-church were very nearly like of our cathedrals. The convent occupied the stalls in the choir; ce of the abbot was in the first stall on the right-hand (south) side entering from the west—it is still appropriated to the dean in cathe- in the corresponding stall on the other side sat the prior; the tor sat in the middle stall on the right or south side; the succentor middle stall on the north side.

beautiful little picture of a semi-choir of Franciscan friars on the te page is from a fourteenth-century psalter in the British Museum ian, A. 17). It is from a large picture, which gives a beautiful

A Semi-choir of Minoresses.

ntation of the interior of the choir of the church. The picture h careful examination for the costume of the friars—grey frock owl, with knotted cord girdle and sandalled feet; some wearing od drawn over the head, some leaving it thrown back on the neck oulders; one with his hands folded under his sleeves like the ians at p. 17. The precentor may be easily distinguished in the stall beating time, with an air of leadership. There is much character ne faces and attitudes—*e.g.*, in the withered old face on the left, with l pulled over his ears to keep off the draughts, or the one on the

precentor's left, a rather burly friar, evidently singing bass.* On the page is an engraving from the same MS. of a similar semi-cho minoresses, which also is only a portion of a large church interior.

When there was a shrine of a noted saint† it was placed in the pr tery, behind the high-altar; and here, and in the choir aisles, were quently placed the monuments of the abbots, and of founders and d guished benefactors of the house; sometimes heads of the house founders were buried in the chapter-house.

It would require a more elaborate description than our plan will a to endeavour to bring before the mind's-eye of the reader one of these a churches before its spoliation;—when the sculptures were unmutilated the paintings fresh, and the windows filled with their stained glass, the choir hung with hangings, and banners and tapestries waved the arches of the triforium, and the altar shone gloriously with jew plate, and the monuments‡ of abbots and nobles were still perfect, an wax tapers burned night and day§ in the hearses, throwing a flickering on the solemn effigies below, and glancing upon the tarnished armou

* A double choir of the fifteenth century is in King René's Book of Hours (Eg 1,070), at folio 54. Another semi-choir of Religious of late fifteenth and early six century date, very well drawn, may be found in Egerton, 2,125, f. 117, v.

† Lydgate's Life of St. Edmund, a MS. executed in 1473 A.D., preserved in the Museum (Harl. 2,278), gives several very good representations of the shrine of tha at St. Edmund's Bury, with the attendant monks, pilgrims worshipping, &c.

‡ "Tombes upon tabernacles, tiled aloft,
* * * *
Made of marble in many manner wise,
Knights in their conisantes clad for the nonce,
All it seemed saints y-sacred upon earth,
And lovely ladies y-wrought lyen by their sides
In many gay garments that were gold-beaten."
Piers Ploughman's Creed.

§ Henry VII. agreed with the Abbot and Convent of Westminster that there be four tapers burning continually at his tomb—two at the sides, and two at the each eleven feet long, and twelve pounds n weight; thirty tapers, &c., in the l and four torches to be held about it at his weekly obit; and one hundred tapers ni long, and twenty-four torches of twice the weight, to be lighted at his anniversary.

sty banners * which hung over the tombs, while the cowled monks heir stalls and prayed. Or when, on some high festival, the convent round the lofty aisles in procession, two and two, clad in rich over their coarse frocks, preceded by cross and banner, with ng censers pouring forth clouds of incense, while one of those boy's voices which we still sometimes hear in cathedrals chanted emn litany—the pure sweet ringing voice floating along the vaulted until it was lost in the swell of the chorus of the whole procession—*Ora ! Ora ! pro nobis !*

Cloister was usually situated on the south side of the nave of the , so that the nave formed its north side, and the south transept a its eastern side; but sometimes, from reasons of local convenience, ister was on the north side of the nave, and then the relative ns of the other buildings were similarly transposed.

Chapter-house was always on the east side of the court. In hments of secular canons it seems to have been always multi- with a central pillar to support its groining, and a lofty, conical, vered roof. In these instances it is placed in the open space rd of the cloister, and is usually approached by a passage from the le of the cloister court. In the houses of all the other orders ‡ the r-house is rectangular, even where the church is a cathedral. y, then, the chapter-house is a rectangular building on the east side cloister, and its longest axis is east and west; at Durham it has an

* "For though a man in their mynster a masse wolde heren,
His sight shal so be set on sundrye werkes,
The penons and the pornels and poyntes of sheldes
Withdrawen his devotion and dusken his heart."
Piers Ploughman's Vision.

‡ chapter-houses attached to the cathedrals of York, Salisbury, and Wells, are l; those of Hereford and Lincoln, decagonal; Lichfield, polygonal; Worcester r. All these were built by secular canons.
re are only two exceptions hitherto observed: that of the Benedictine Abbey of ster, which is polygonal, and that of Thornton Abbey, of regular canons, which nal.

eastern apse.* It was a large and handsome room, with a good dea architectural ornament;† often the western end of it is divided off a vestibule or ante-room; and generally it is so large as to be divided two or three aisles by rows of pillars. Internally, rows of stalls or ben

Monks and Lawyers in Chapter-house.

were arranged round the walls for the convent; there was a higher se the east end for the abbot or prior, and a desk in the middle from w certain things were read. Every day after the service called Terce convent walked in procession from the choir to the chapter-house, took their proper places. When the abbot had taken his place, the m

* And at Norwich it appears to have had an eastern apse. See ground-plan i Mackenzie E. C. Walcott's "Church and Conventual Arrangement," p. 85.

† Piers Ploughman describes the chapter-house of a Benedictine convent:—

> "There was the chapter-house, wrought as a great church,
> Carved and covered and quaintly entayled [sculptured];
> With seemly selure [ceiling] y-set aloft,
> As a parliament house y-painted about."

nded one step and bowed; he returned their salutation, and all took seats. A sentence of the rule of the order was read by one of the es from the desk, and the abbot, or in his absence the prior, delivered planatory or hortatory sermon upon it; then from another portion e book was read the names of brethren, and benefactors, and persons had been received into fraternity, whose decease had happened on ay of the year; and the convent prayed a *requiescant in pace* for their and the souls of all the faithful departed this life. Then members e convent who had been guilty of slight breaches of discipline con- them, kneeling upon a low stool in the middle, and on a bow from bot, intimating his remission of the breach, they resumed their seats. had a complaint to make against any brother, it was here made and ged.* Convent business was also transacted. The woodcut gives an le of the kind. Henry VII. had made grants to Westminster Abbey, ndition that the convent should perform certain religious services behalf;† and in order that the services should not fall into disuse, ected that yearly, at a certain period, the chief-justice, or the king's ey, or the recorder of London, should attend in chapter, and the ct of the grant and agreement between the king and the convent be read. The grant which was thus to be read still exists in the Museum; it is written in a volume superbly bound, with the royal ttached in silver cases; it is from the illuminated letter at the head of the deeds in this book ‡ that our woodcut is taken. It rudely ents the chapter-house, with the chief-justice and a group of lawyers e side, the abbot and convent on the other, and a monk reading the rom the desk in the middle.

gate's "Life of St. Edmund" (Harl. 2,278) was written A.D. 1433, by

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the "Vision of Piers Ploughman" one of the characters complains that if he any fault—

> "They do me fast fridays to bread and water,
> And am challenged in the chapitel-house as I a child were;"

s punished in a childish way, which is too plainly spoken to bear quotation.

e note on p. 76.

e woodcut on a preceding page (23) is from another initial letter of the same book.

command of his abbot—he was a monk of St. Edmund's Bury—on occasion of King Henry VI. being received—

"Of their chapter a brother for to be;"

that is, to the fraternity of the house. An illumination on f. 6 seems represent the king sitting in the abbot's place in the chapter-house, w royal officers behind him, monks in their places on each side of chapter-house, the lectern in the middle, and a group of clerks at west end. It is probably intended as a picture of the scene of the kin being received to fraternity.

Adjoining the south transept is usually a narrow apartment; the scription of Durham, drawn up soon after the Dissolution, says that it the "Locutory." Another conjecture is that it may have been the vest At Netley it has a door at the west, with a trefoil light over it, a two-li window at the east, two niches, like monumental niches, in its north a south walls, and a piscina at the east end of its south wall.

Again, between this and the chapter-house is often found a small ap ment, which some have conjectured to be the penitential cell. In ot cases it seems to be merely a passage from the cloister-court to the sp beyond; in which space the abbot's lodging is often situated, so tha may have been the abbot's entrance to the church and chapter.

In Cistercian houses there is usually another long building south of chapter-house, its axis running north and south. This was perhaps in lower story the Frater-house, a room to which the monks retired a refection to converse, and to take their allowance of wine, or other in gences in diet which were allowed to them; and some quotations Fosbroke would lead us to imagine that the monks dined here on fe days. It would answer to the great chamber of mediæval houses, and some respects to the Combination-room * of modern colleges. The up story of this building was probably the Dormitory. This was a long ro with a vaulted or open timber roof, in which the pallets were arranged in r on each side against the wall. The prior or sub-prior usually slept in

* A room adjoining the hall, to which the fellows retire after dinner to take their and converse.

itory, with a light burning near him, in order to maintain order. monks slept in the same habits * which they wore in the day-time.

out the middle of the south side of the court, in Cistercian houses, is a long room, whose longer axis lies north and south, with a smaller on each side of it, which was probably the Refectory. In other s, the refectory forms the south side of the cloister court, lying parallel he nave of the church. Very commonly it has a row of pillars down entre, to support the groined roof. It was arranged, like all mediæval with a dais at the upper end and a screen at the lower. In place of riel window of mediæval halls, there was a pulpit, which was often in mbrasure of a quasi-oriel window, in which one of the brethren read edifying book during meals.

e remaining apartments of the cloister-court it is more difficult to priate. In some of the great Cistercian houses whose ground-plan e traced—as Fountains, Salley, Netley, &c.—possibly the long ment which is found on the west side of the cloister was the hall of Iospitium, with chambers over it. Another conjecture is, that it was ouse of the lay brethren.

the uncertainty which at present exists on these points of monastic gement, we cannot speak with any degree of certainty; but we throw ner some data on the subject in the subjoined note.†

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ne ordinary fashion of the time was to sleep without any clothing whatever.

the plan of the ninth-century Benedictine monastery of St. Gall, published in the *ological Journal* for June, 1848, the dormitory is on the east, with the calefactory t; the refectory on the south, with the clothes-store above; the cellar on the west, e larders above. In the plan of Canterbury Cathedral, a Benedictine house, as ed in the latter half of the twelfth century, the church was on the south, the r-house and dormitory on the east, the refectory, parallel with the church, on rth, and the cellar on the west. At the Benedictine monastery at Durham, the was on the north, the chapter-house and locutory on the east, the refectory on the nd the dormitory on the west. At the Augustinian Regular Priory of Bridlington, rch was on the north, the fratry (refectory) on the south, the chapter-house on the e dortor also on the east, up a stair twenty steps high, and the west side was d by the prior's lodgings.

ne Premonstratensian Abbey of Easby, the church is on the north, the transept, e, chapter-house, and small apartments on the east, the refectory on the south, and west two large apartments, with a passage between them. The Rev. J. F. Turner,

The Scriptorium is said to have been usually over the chapter-hou It was therefore a large apartment, capable of containing many perso and, in fact, many persons did work together in it in a very business-l manner at the transcription of books. For example, William, Ab of Herschau, in the eleventh century, as stated by his biograph "Knowing, what he had learned by laudable experience, that sac reading is the necessary food of the mind, made twelve of his monks v excellent writers, to whom he committed the office of transcribing the h Scriptures, and the treatises of the Fathers. Besides these, there were indefinite number of other scribes, who wrought with equal diligence the transcription of other books. Over them was a monk well versed all kinds of knowledge, whose business it was to appoint some good w as a task for each, and to correct the mistakes of those who wr negligently."* The general chapter of the Cistercian order, held A.D. 1134, directs that the same silence should be maintained in the sc torium as in the cloister. Sometimes perhaps little separate studies wainscot were made round this large apartment, in which the writers sa their desks. Sometimes this literary work was carried on in the cloi which, being glazed, would be a not uncomfortable place in tempe weather, and a very comfortable place in summer, with its coolness quiet, and the peep through its windows on the green court and the fo tain in the centre, and the grey walls of the monastic buildings beyo the slow footfall of a brother going to and fro, and the cawing of the ro in the minster tower, would add to the dreamy charm of such a library.

Odo, Abbot of St. Martin's, at Tournay, about 1093, "used to exul the number of writers the Lord had given him; for if you had gone i the cloister you might in general have seen a dozen young monks sit on chairs in perfect silence, writing at tables carefully and artifici

Chaplain of Bishop Cozin's Hall, Durham, describes these as the common house kitchen, and places the dormitory in a building west of them, at a very inconvenient tance from the church.

* Maitland's "Dark Ages."

† At Winchester School, until a comparatively recent period, the scholars in summer time studied in the cloisters.

ructed. All Jerome's commentaries on the Prophets, all the works of regory, and everything that he could find of St. Augustine, Ambrose, ore, Bede, and the Lord Anselm, then Abbot of Bec, and afterwards bishop of Canterbury, he caused to be transcribed. So that you d scarcely have found such a monastery in that part of the country, everybody was begging for our copies to correct their own." Some- little studies of wainscot were erected in the cloisters for the monks udy or transcribe in. At Gloucester Cathedral, at Beaulieu, and at ose, for example, there are traces of the way in which the windows e cloisters were enclosed and turned into such studies.*

Monk in Scriptorium.

ere are numerous illuminations representing monks and ecclesiastics g; they sit in chairs of various kinds, some faldstools, some chairs, some armed backed; and they have desks and bookstands them of various shapes, commonly a stand with sloping desk like le lectern, not unfrequently a kind of dumb-waiter besides on which everal books. We see also in these illuminations the forms of the

r much curious information about scriptoria and monastic libraries, see Maitland'. Ages," quoted above.

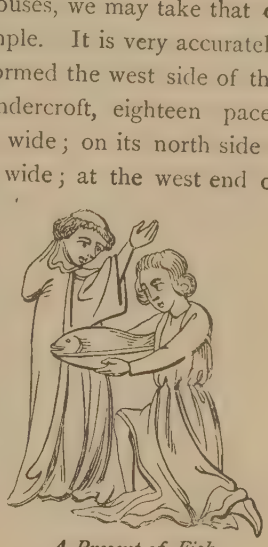
pens, knives, inkstands, &c., which were used. We will only mention t
of unusual interest. One is in a late fourteenth-century Psalter, H
2,897, at p. 186, v., where St. Jude sits writing his Epistle in a canop
chair, with a shelf across the front of the chair to serve as a desk; a str
with a weight at the end holds his parchment down, and there is a be
beside, on which lies a book. A chair with a similar shelf is at f. 12 of
MS. Egerton, 1,070. Our woodcut on the preceding page is from a M
in the Library of Soissons. We also find representations of ecclesias
writing in a small cell which may represent the enclosed scriptoria—
St. Bonaventine writing, in the MS. Harl. 3,229; St. John painting,
the late fifteenth-century MS. Add. 15,677, f. 35.

The Abbot's Lodging sometimes formed a portion of one of the mona
courts, as at St. Mary, Bridlington, where it formed the western side
the cloister-court; but more usually it was a detached house, precis
similar to the contemporary unfortified houses of laymen of sim
rank and wealth. No particular site relative to the monastic buildi
was appropriated to it; it was erected wherever was most conveni
within the abbey enclosure. The principal rooms of an abbot's house
the Hall, the Great Chamber, the Kitchen, Buttery, Cellars, &c.,
Chambers, and the Chapel. We must remember that the abbots of
greater houses were powerful noblemen; the abbots of the smaller hou
were equal in rank and wealth to country gentlemen. They had a v
constant succession of noble and gentle guests, whose entertainment
such as their rank and habits required. This involved a suita
habitation and establishment; and all this must be borne in mind w
we endeavour to picture to ourselves an abbot's lodging. To give
idea of the magnitude of some of the abbots' houses, we may record
the hall of the Abbot of Fountains was divided by two rows of pillars
a centre and aisles, and that it was 170 feet long by 70 feet wide.* I
a dozen noble guests, with their retinues of knights and squires, and r
at-arms and lacqueys, and all the abbot's men to boot, would be los

* The hall of the Royal Palace of Winchester, erected at the same period,
111 feet by 55 feet 9 inches.

a hall. On the great feast-days it might, perhaps, be comfortably . But even such a hall would hardly contain the companies who were times entertained, on such great days for instance as an abbot's lation-day, when it is on record that an abbot of one of the greater s would give a feast to three or four thousand people.

the lodgings of the superiors of smaller houses, we may take that of rior of St. Mary's, Bridlington, as an example. It is very accurately ibed by King Henry's commissioners; it formed the west side of the er-court; it contained a hall with an undercroft, eighteen paces rom the screen to the dais,* and ten paces wide; on its north side a chamber, twenty paces long and nineteen wide; at the west end of reat chamber the prior's sleeping-chamber, ver that a garret; on the east side of the chamber a little chamber and a closet; south end of the hall the buttery and , and a chamber called the Auditor's ber; at the same end of the hall a fair r, called the Low Summer Parlour; and t another fair chamber; and adjoining that ittle chambers for servants; at the south f the hall the Prior's Kitchen, with three covered with lead, and adjoining it a er called the South Cellarer's Chamber.†



A Present of Fish.

re were several other buildings of a monastery, which were some- detached, and placed as convenience dictated. The Infirmary ally seems to have been more commonly detached; in many cases its own kitchen, and refectory, and chapel, and chambers, which mes were arranged round a court, and formed a complete little te establishment.

Hospitium, or Guest-house, was sometimes detached; but more

total length would perhaps be abou' twenty-four paces.

e above woodcut, from the Harleian MS. 1,527, represents, probably, the cellarer minican convent receiving a donation of a fish. It curiously suggests the scene in Sir Edwin Landseer's "Bolton Abbey in the Olden Time."

usually it seems to have formed a portion of an outer court, westward the cloister-court, which court was entered from the great gates, or fr one of the outer gates of the abbey. In Cistercian houses, as we h said, the guest-house, with its hall below and its chambers above, perh occupied the west side of the cloister-court, and would therefore form eastern range of buildings of this outer court. At St. Mary's, Bridling where the prior's lodging occupied this position, the "lodgings and stal for strangers" were on the north side of this outer court. The gu houses were often of great extent and magnificence. The Guesten of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, still remains, and is a very noble build 150 feet long by 50 broad, of Norman date, raised on an undercr The Guesten-hall of Worcester also remains, a very noble building on undercroft, with a fine carved timber roof, and portions of the paint which decorated the wall behind the dais still visible.* Besides hall, the guest-house contained often a great-chamber (answering to modern drawing-room) and sleeping-chambers, and a chapel, in wh service was performed for guests—for in those days it was the cus always to hear prayers before dinner and supper.

Thus, at Durham, we are told that "a famous house of hospitality kept within the abbey garth, called the Guest-hall, and was situate in west side, towards the water. The sub-prior of the house was the ma thereof, as one appointed to give entertainment to all estates, no gentle, or what other degree soever, came thither as strangers. T entertainment was not inferior to that of any place in England, both the goodness of their diet, the clean and neat furniture of their lodgi and generally all things necessary for travellers; and, with this enter ment, no man was required to depart while he continued honest an good behaviour. This hall was a stately place, not unlike the body church, supported on each side by very fine pillars, and in the midst the hall a long range for the fire. The chambers and lodgings belon to it were kept very clean and richly furnished." At St. Albans, the G

* See an account of this hall, with pen-and-ink sketches by Mr. Street, in the vo of the Worcester Architectural Society for 1854.

was an enormous range of rooms, with stabling for three hundred s.

ere is a passage in the correspondence of Coldingham Priory (pub- l by the Surties Society, 1841, p. 52) which gives us a graphic sketch e arrival of guests at a monastery:—"On St. Alban's-day, June 17 not given—it was towards the end of Edward III.], two monks, a company of certain secular persons, came riding into the gateway e monastery about nine o'clock in the morning. This day happened Sunday, but they were hospitably and reverently received, had ngs assigned them, a special mass service performed for them, and a refection and washing their feet, it being supposed that they were to pursue their journey to London the next morning, they were left early hour to take repose. While the bell was summoning the rest e brotherhood to vespers, the monk who had been in attendance them (the hospitaller) having gone with the rest to sing his chant in hoir, the secular persons appear to have asked the two monks to take k with them to look at the Castle of Durham," &c.*

ere could hardly have been any place in the Middle Ages which have presented such a constant succession of picturesque scenes as Hospitium of a monastery. And what a contrast must often have ed between the Hospitium and the Cloister. Here a crowd of people ery degree—nobles and ladies, knights and dames, traders with their , minstrels with their songs and juggling tricks, monks and clerks, ers, friars, beggars—bustling about the court or crowding the long of the hall; and, a few paces off, the dark-frocked monks, with faces l in their cowls, pacing the ambulatory in silent meditation, or sitting ir meagre refection, enlivened only by the monotonous sound of the e's voice reading a homily from the pulpit!

ny of the remaining buildings of the monastery were arranged around uter court. Ingulphus tells us that the second court of the Saxon stery of Croyland (about 875 A.D.) had the gate on the north, and

* Quoted by Archdeacon Churton in a paper read before the Yorkshire Architectural y in 1853.

the almonry near it—a very usual position for it; the shops of the tail and shoe-makers, the hall of the novices, and the abbot's lodgings on east; the guest-hall and its chambers on the south; and the stable-hou and granary, and bake-house on the west. The Gate-house was usuall large and handsome tower, with the porter's lodge on one side of arched entrance; and often a strong room on the other, which served the prison of the manor-court of the convent; and often a handsome ro over the entrance, in which the manorial court was held. In the mid of the court was often a stone cross, round which markets and fairs w often held.

In the "Vision of Piers Ploughman" an interesting description is gi of a Dominican convent of the fourteenth century. We will not trou the reader with the very archaic original, but will give him a paraphras it. The writer says that, on approaching, he was so bewildered by th magnitude and beauty, that for a long time he could distinguish noth certainly but stately buildings of stone, pillars carved and painted, and gr windows well wrought. In the quadrangle he notices the cross stand in the centre, surrounded with tabernacle-work: he enters the min (church), and describes the arches carved and gilded, the wide wind full of shields of arms and merchants' marks on stained glass, the h tombs under canopies, with armed effigies in alabaster, and lovely lad lying by their sides in many gay garments. He passes into the cloi and sees it pillared and painted, and covered with lead and paved w tiles, and conduits of white metal pouring their water into latten (bro lavatories beautifully wrought. The chapter-house he says was wrou like a great church, carved and painted like a parliament-house. T he went into the fratry, and found it a hall fit for a knight and his ho hold, with broad boards (tables) and clean benches, and windows wrou as in a church. Then he wandered all about—

> "And seigh halles ful heigh, and houses ful noble,
> Chambres with chymneys, and chapeles gaye,
> And kychenes for an high kynge in castels to holden,
> And their dortoure ydight with dores ful stronge,
> Fermerye, and fraitur, with fele more houses,

And all strong stone wall, sterne opon heithe,
With gay garites and grete, and ich whole yglazed,
And other houses ynowe to herberwe the queene."

e churches of the friars differed from those of monks. They were ently composed either of a nave only or a nave and two (often narrow) aisles, without transepts, or chapels, or towers; they were ed especially for preaching to large congregations—*e.g.* the Austin s' Church in the City of London, lately restored; St. Andrew's Hall, ich. In Viollet le Duc's "Dictionary of Architecture" is given a -eye view of the monastery of the Augustine Friars of St. Marie des Verts, near Brussels, which is a complete example of one of these s.*

ery monastery had a number of dependent establishments of greater s size: cells on its distant estates; granges on its manors; chapels in where the abbey tenants were at a distance from a church; often hermitages under its protection. A ground-plan and view e of these cells, the Priory of St. Jean-les-Bons-hommes, of the f the twelfth century, still remaining in a tolerably perfect state, is by Viollet le Duc (Dict. Arch., i. 276, 277). It is a miniature stery, with a little cloistered court, surrounded by the usual buildings: tory on the north side; on the east a sacristy, and chapter-house, ng range of buildings, with dormitory over; on the south side the ry and kitchen; and another exterior court, with stables and offices. preceptory of Hospitallers at Chibburn, Northumberland, which s almost as the knights left it, is another example of these small ouses. It is engraved in Turner's "Domestic Architecture," vol. ii. . It also consists of a small court, with a chapel about forty-five feet n the west side; and other buildings, which we cannot appropriate, remaining sides. Of the monastic cells we have already spoken in ing the office of prior. The one or two brethren who were placed ll to manage the distant estates of the monastery would probably be

und-plans of the Dominican Friary at Norwich, the Carmelite Friary at Hulne Franciscan Friary at Kilconnel, may be found in Walcott's "Church and Con- Arrangement."

chosen rather for their qualities as prudent stewards than for their pi
The command of money which their office gave them, and their dista
from the supervision of their ecclesiastical superiors, brought them un
temptation, and it is probably in these cells, and among the brethren
superintended the granges, and the officials who could leave the monas
at pleasure on the plea of convent business, that we are to look for
irregularities of which the Middle-Age satirists speak. The monk am
Chaucer's "Canterbury Pilgrims" was prior of a cell, for we read that—

> "When he rode, men might his bridel here
> Gingeling in a whistling sound, as clere
> And eke as loud *as doth the chapelle belle,*
> *Ther as this lord was keeper of the celle.*"

The monk on whose intrigue "The Shipman's Tale" is founded,
probably the cellarer of his convent:—

> "This noble monk of which I you devise,
> Had of his abbot, as him list, licence;
> Because he was a man of high prudence,
> And eke an officer, out for to ride
> To seen his granges and his bernes wide."

An Abbot travelling.

The abbot, too, sometimes gave license to the monks to go and see
friends, or to pass two or three days at one or other of the manors of

e for recreation; and sometimes he took a monk with him on his own
ieys. In a MS. romance, in the British Museum (Add. 10,293, f. 11),
epresentation of a monk with his hood on, journeying on horseback.
give here, from the St. Alban's Book (Nero, D. vii.), a woodcut of an
t on horseback, with a hat over his hood—"an abbot on an ambling
" he is giving his benediction in return to the salute of some passing
ller.

ermitages or anchorages sometimes depended on a monastery, and
not necessarily occupied by brethren of the monastery, but by any
desirous to embrace this mode of life whom the convent might choose.
hermit, however, probably, usually wore the habit of the order. The
astery often supplied the hermit with his food. In a picture in the MS.
nce, before quoted (Add. 10,292, f. 98), is a representation of a
ht-errant on horseback, conversing by the way with a clerk, who is
ing bread and wine to a hermitage.

ie woodcut with which we conclude, from the Harleian MS., 1,527,
sents the characteristic costume of three orders of religious with
h we have been concerned—a bishop, an abbot, and a clerk.

Bishop, Abbot, and Clerk.

THE HERMITS AND RECLUSES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE HERMITS.

WE have already related, in a former chapter (p. 3), that the ascetics who abandoned the stirring world of the Ægypto-Greek cities, and resorted to the Theban desert to lead a life of self-mortification ontemplation, frequently associated themselves into communities, and gave rise to the cœnobitical orders of Christendom. But there were s who still preferred the solitary life; and they had their imitators in age and country of the Christian world. We have not the same s of information respecting these solitaries that we have respecting reat orders of monks and friars; but the scattered notices which n of them, when brought together, form a very curious chapter in the y of human nature, well worthy of being written out in full. The ess of the present paper, however, is not to write the whole chapter, nly to select that page of it which relates to the English solitaries, o give as distinct a picture as we can of the part which the Hermits Recluses played on the picturesque stage of the England of the e Ages.

have to remember, at the outset, that it was not all who bore

the name of Eremite who lived a solitary life. We have already h occasion to mention that Innocent IV., in the middle of the thirtee century, found a number of small religious communities and solitaries, w were not in any of the recognised religious orders, and observed authorised rule; and that he enrolled them all into a new order, with rule of St. Augustine, under the name of Eremiti Augustini. The n order took root, and flourished, and gave rise to a considerable number large communities, very similar in every respect to the communities friars of the three orders previously existing. The members of these n communities did not affect seclusion, but went about among the people, the Dominicans, and Franciscans, and Carmelites did. The popu tongue seems to have divided the formal title of the new order, and have applied the name of *Augustine*, or, popularly, *Austin Friars*, these new communities of friars; while it reserved the distinctive name *Eremites*, or Hermits, for the religious, who, whether they lived absolut alone, or in little aggregations of solitaries, still professed the old eremiti principle of seclusion from the world. These hermits may again be s divided into Hermits proper, and Recluses. The difference between th was this: that the hermit, though he professed a general seclusion from world, yet, in fact, held communication with his fellow-men as freely as pleased, and might go in and out of his hermitage as inclination promp or need required; the recluse was understood to maintain a more st abstinence from unnecessary intercourse with others, and had entered i a formal obligation not to go outside the doors of his hermitage. In imperfect notices which we have of them, it is often impossible to de mine whether a particular individual was a hermit or a recluse; but incline to the opinion that of the male solitaries few had taken the vow reclusion; while the female solitaries appear to have been all recluses. that, practically, the distinction almost amounts to this—that the r solitaries were hermits, and the females recluses.

Very much of what we have to say of the mediæval solitaries, of t abodes, and of their domestic economy, applies both to those who and to those who had not, made the further vow of reclusion. We s therefore, treat first of those points which are common to them,

devote a further paper to those things which are peculiar to the es.

e popular idea of a hermit is that of a man who was either a half- l enthusiast, or a misanthrope—a kind of Christian Timon—who oned the abodes of men, and scooped out for himself a cave in the or built himself a rude hut in the forest; and lived there a half- e life, clad in sackcloth or skins,* eating roots and wild fruits, and ng of the neighbouring spring; visited occasionally by superstitious e, who gazed and listened in fear at the mystic ravings, or wild ciations, of the gaunt and haggard prophet. This ideal has probably derived from the traditional histories, once so popular,† of the early t-saints; and there may have been, perhaps, always an individual or f whom this traditional picture was a more or less exaggerated repre- ion. But the ordinary English hermit of the Middle Ages was a totally nt type of man. He was a sober-minded and civilised person, who

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the National Gallery is a painting by Fra Angelico, in which is a hermit clad ess woven of rushes or flags.

The Wonderful and Godly History of the Holy Fathers Hermits," is among 's earliest-printed books. Piers Ploughman ("Vision") speaks of—

"Anthony and Egidius and other holy fathers
Woneden in wilderness amonge wilde bestes
In spekes and in spelonkes, seldom spoke together.
Ac nobler Antony ne Egedy ne hermit of that time
Of lions ne of leopards no livelihood ne took,
But of fowles that fly, thus find men in books."

gain—

"In prayers and in penance putten them many,
All for love of our Lord liveden full strait,
In hope for to have heavenly blisse
As ancres and heremites that holden them in their cells
And coveten not in country to kairen [walk] about
For no likerous lifelihood, their liking to please."

t again—

"Ac ancres and heremites that eaten not but at nones
And no more ere morrow, mine almesse shall they have,
And of my cattle to keep them with, that have cloisters and churches,
Ac Robert Run-about shall nought have of mine."

Piers Ploughman's Vision

dressed in a robe very much like the robes of the other religious ord lived in a comfortable little house of stone or timber ; often had estate a pension, for his maintenance, besides what charitable people pleased to leave him in their wills, or to offer in their lifetime ; he live bread and meat, and beer and wine, and had a chaplain to say prayers for him, and a servant or two to wait upon him ; his hermitage not always up in the lonely hills, or deep-buried in the shady forests— often it was by the great high roads, and sometimes in the heart of towns and cities.

This summary description is so utterly opposed to all the po notions, that we shall take pains to fortify our assertions with suffi proofs ; indeed, the whole subject is so little known that we shall illus it freely from all the sources at our command. And first, as it is or our especial objects to furnish authorities for the pictorial represent of these old hermits, we shall inquire what kind of dress they did act wear in place of the skins, or the sackcloth, with which the po imagination has clothed them.

We should be inclined to assume *a priori* that the hermits would the habit prescribed by Papal authority for the Eremiti Augustini, w according to Stevens, consisted of "a white garment, and a white sca over it, when they are in the house ; but in the choir, and when the abroad, they put on, over all, a sort of cowl and a large hood, both b the hood round before, and hanging down to the waist in a point, girt with a black leather thong." And in the rude woodcuts which Caxton's "Vitas Patrum," or "Lives of the Hermits," we do find so the religious men in a habit which looks like a gown, with the arms co through slits, which may be intended to represent a scapular, and with and cowls of the fashion described ; while others, in the same book, a loose gown, in shape more like that of a Benedictine. Again, in Durer's "St. Christopher," as engraved by Mrs. Jameson, in her "Sacre Legendary Art," p. 445, the hermit is represented in a frock and sca with a cowl and hood. But in the majority of the representatio hermits which we meet with in mediæval paintings and illuminated scripts, the costume consists of a frock, sometimes girded, sometimes

ver it an ample gown, like a cloak, with a hood; and in the cases e the colour of the robe is indicated, it is almost always indicated by t brown tint.* It is not unlikely that there were varieties of costume g the hermits. Perhaps those who were attached to the monasteries nks and friars, and who seem to have been usually admitted to the nity of the house,† may have worn the cos- of the order to which they were attached; priest-hermits serving chantries may have the usual costume of a secular priest. p Poore, who died 1237, in his "Ancren e," speaks of the fashion of the dress to rn, at least by female recluses, as indifferent. y, speaking especially of the recluses in his just before the Reformation, says, "their ell is indifferent, so it be dissonant from the In the woodcuts, from various sources, illustrate this paper, the reader will see for lf how the hermits are represented by the eval artists, who had them constantly under observation, and who at least tried their o represent faithfully what they saw. The nd clearest illustration which we have been o find of the usual costume in which the s are represented, we here give to the reader. It is from the figure Damasus, one of the group in the fine picture of "St. Jerome," by

St. Damasus, Hermit.

rs Ploughman ("Vision") describes himself at the beginning of the poem as g the habit of a hermit—

> "In a summer season when soft was the sun
> In habit as a hermit unholy of works,
> Went wild in this world, wonders to hear,
> All on a May morning on Malvern Hills," &c.

the beginning of the eighth part he says—

> "Thus robed in *russet* I roamed about
> All a summer season."

r the custom of admitting to the fraternity of a religious house, see p. 66.

Cosimo Roselli (who lived from 1439 to 1506), now in the Natio Gallery. The hermit-saint wears a light-brown frock, and scapular, w no girdle, and, over all, a cloak and hood of the same colour, and naked feet are protected by wooden clogs.

Other illustrations of hermits may be found in the early fourteenth c tury MS. Romances Additional 10,293 f. 335, and 10,294 f. 95. In latter case there are two hermits in one hermitage; also in Royal 16 G. Illustrations of St. Anthony, which give authorities for hermit costur and indications of what hermitages were, abound in the later MSS.; example, in King René's "Book of Hours" (Egerton 1,070), at f. 108, hermit-saint is habited in a grey frock and black cloak with a T-cross the breast; he holds bell and book and staff in his hands. In Egert 1,149, of the middle of the fifteenth century. In Add. 15,677, of the lat part of the fifteenth century, at f. 150, is St. Anthony in brown frock a narrow scapulary, with a grey cloak and hood and a red skull cap; he ho a staff and book; his hermitage, in the background, is a building like a lit chapel with a bell-cot on the gable, within a grassy enclosure fenc with a low wattled fence. Add. 18,854, of date 1525 A.D., f. 146, rep sents St. Anthony in a blue-grey gown and hood, holding bell, rosa and staff, entering his hermitage, a little building with a bell-cot on gable.

A man could not take upon himself the character of a hermit at his o pleasure. It was a regular order of religion, into which a man co not enter without the consent of the bishop of the diocese, and i which he was admitted by a formal religious service. And just bishops do not ordain men to holy orders until they have obtained "title," a place in which to exercise their ministry, so bishops did admit men to the order of Hermits until they had obtained a hermit in which to exercise their vocation.

The form of the vow made by a hermit is here given, from the In tution Books of Norwich, lib. xiv. fo. 27a ("East Anglian," No. 9, p. 10 "I, John Fferys, nott maridd, promyt and avowe to God, o^r Lady Sent Ma and to all the seynts in heven, in the p'sence of you reverend fadre in G Richard bishop of Norwich, the wowe of chastite, after the rule of s

e the heremite. In the name of the fadre, sone, and holy gost. JOHN RERE. xiij. meii, anno dni. MLVCIIIJ. in capella de Thorpe."

'e summarize the service for habiting and blessing a hermit* from the ifical of Bishop Lacy of Exeter, of the fourteenth century.† It begins several psalms; then several short prayers for the incepting hermit, tioning him by name.‡ Then follow two prayers for the benediction of estments, apparently for different parts of his habit; the first mention- "hec indumenta humilitatem cordis et mundi contemptum signifi- ia,"—these garments signifying humility of heart, and contempt of world; the second blesses "hanc vestem pro conservande castitatis ,"—this vestment the sign of chastity. The priest then delivers the nents to the hermit kneeling before him, with these words, "Brother, ld we give to thee the eremitical habit (*habitum heremiticum*), with which dmonish thee to live henceforth chastely, soberly, and holily; in holy nings, in fastings, in labours, in prayers, in works of mercy, that thou st have eternal life, and live for ever and ever." And he receives saying, "Behold, I receive them in the name of the Lord; and ise myself so to do according to my power, the grace of God, and of aints, helping me." Then he puts off his secular habit, the priest g to him, "The Lord put off from thee the old man with his deeds;" while he puts on his hermit's habit, the priest says, "The Lord put ee the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and holiness." Then follow a collect and certain psalms, and finally the sprinkles him with holy water, and blesses him.

n of all ranks took upon them the hermit life, and we find the ar writers of the time sometimes distinguishing among them; one is rmit-priest,"§ another is a "gentle hermit," not in the sense of the

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Officium induendi et benedicendi heremitam."

'e are indebted to Mr. M. H. Bloxam for a copy of it.

Famulus tuus N." It is noticable that the masculine gender is used all through, t any such note as we find in the Service for Inclosing (which we shall have to hereafter), that this service shall serve for both sexes.

e hermit who interposed between Sir Lionel and Sir Bors, and who was killed Lionel for his interference (Malory's "Prince Arthur," III, lxxix.), is called a

"gentle hermit of the dale," but meaning that he was a man of gen birth. The hermit in whose hermitage Sir Launcelot passed long time described as a "gentle hermit, which sometime was a noble knight and great lord of possessions, and for great goodness he hath taken him un wilful poverty, and hath forsaken his possessions, and his name is Baldwin of Britain, and he is a full noble surgeon, and a right good leec This was the type of hermit who was venerated by the popular superstiti of the day: a great and rich man who had taken to wilful poverty, o man who lived wild in the woods—a St. Julian, or a St. Anthony. A po man who turned hermit, and lived a prosaic, pious, useful life, showi travellers the way through a forest, or over a bog, or across a ferry, a humbly taking their alms in return, presented nothing dramatic and striki to the popular mind; very likely, too, many men adopted the hermit l for the sake of the idleness and the alms,* and deserved the small repu they had.

It is *àpropos* of Sir Launcelot's hermit above-mentioned that the roman complains "for in those days it was not with the guise of hermits as it n is in these days. For there were no hermits in those days, but that th have been men of worship and prowess, and those hermits held gr households, and refreshed people that were in distress." We find author of "Piers Ploughman" making the same complaint. We have, in other cases, a little modernised his language:—

> "But eremites that inhabit them by the highways,
> And in boroughs among brewers, and beg in churches,
> All that holy eremites hated and despised,
> (As riches, and reverences, and rich men's alms),
> These lollers,† latche drawers,‡ lewd eremites,

"hermit-priest." Also, in the Episcopal Registry of Lichfield, we find the bishop, 10th February, 1409, giving to Brother Richard Goldeston, late Canon of Wombru now recluse at Prior's Lee, near Shiffenall, license to hear confessions.

* "Great loobies and long, that loath were to swink [work],
Clothed them in copes to be known from others,
And shaped them hermits their ease to have."

† Wanderers.

‡ Breakers out of their cells.

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Covet on the contrary. Nor live holy as eremites,
That lived wild in woods, with bears and lions.
Some had livelihood from their lineage* and of no life else;
And some lived by their learning, and the labour of their hands.
Some had foreigners for friends, that their food sent;
And birds brought to some bread, whereby they lived.
All these holy eremites were of high kin,
Forsook land and lordship, and likings of the body.
But these eremites that edify by the highways
Whilome were workmen—webbers, and tailors,
And carter's knaves, and clerks without grace.
They held a hungry house, And had much want,
Long labour, and light winnings. And at last espied
That lazy fellows in friar's clothing had fat cheeks.
Forthwith left they their labour, these lewd knaves,
And clothed them in copes as they were clerks,
Or one of some order [of monks or friars], or else prophets [eremites]."

This curious extract from "Piers Ploughman" leads us to notice the lities in which hermitages were situated. Sometimes, no doubt, they e in lonely and retired places among the hills, or hidden in the depths he forests which then covered so large a portion of the land. On the t page is a very interesting little picture of hermit life, from a MS. Book Hours, executed for Richard II. (British Museum, Domitian, A. xvii., 4 v.) The artist probably intended to represent the old hermits of the ptian desert, Piers Poughman's—

"Holy eremites,
That lived wild in woods
With bears and lions;"

after the custom of mediæval art, he has introduced the scenery, ume, and architecture of his own time. Erase the bears, which stand he whole tribe of outlandish beasts, and we have a very pretty bit of lish mountain scenery. The stags are characteristic enough of the scenery ediæval England. The hermitage on the right seems to be of the ruder made in part of wattled work. On the left we have the more usual itage of stone, with its little chapel bell in a bell-cot on the gable. venerable old hermit, coming out of the doorway, is a charming illus-

* Kindred.

tration of the typical hermit, with his venerable beard, and his fo bowed by age, leaning with one hand on his cross-staff, and carryi his rosary in the other. The hermit in the illustration hereafter giv from the "History of Launcelot," on page 114, leans on a simi staff; it would seem as if such a staff was a usual part of the hermi equipment.* The hermit in Albert Dürer's "St. Christopher." alrea

Hermits and Hermitages.

mentioned, also leans on a staff, but of rather different shape. Here i companion-picture, in pen and ink, from the "Morte d'Arthur:"—"Th he departed from the cross [a stone cross which parted two ways in wa land, under which he had been sleeping], on foot, into a wild forest. And by prime he came unto an high mountain, and there he found an hermita

* In "Piers Ploughman" we read that—

"Hermits with hoked staves
Wenden to Walsingham;"

These hooked staves may, however, have been pilgrim staves, not hermit staves. pastoral staff on the official seal of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was of the same shap the staff above represented. A staff of similar shape occurs on an early grave-s at Welbeck Priory, engraved in the Rev. E. L. Cutts's "Manual of Sepulchral Slabs Crosses," plate xxxv.

an hermit therein, which was going to mass. And then Sir Launcelot eled down upon both his knees, and cried out, 'Lord, mercy!' for wicked works that he had done. So when mass was done, Sir Launcelot ed the hermit to him, and prayed him for charity to hear his confession. th a good will,' said the good man."

ut many of the hermitages were erected along the great highways of country, and especially at bridges and fords,* apparently with the ress view of their being serviceable to travellers. One of the hermit- ts set up as a pattern for their imitation was St. Julian, who, with his , devoted his property and life to showing hospitality to travellers; the hermit who is always associated in the legends and pictures with Christopher, is represented as holding out his torch or lantern to light giant ferryman, as he transports his passengers across the dangerous by which the hermitage was built. When hostelries, where the eller could command entertainment for hire, were to be found only in great towns, the religious houses were the chief resting-places of the eller; not only the conventual establishments, but the country clergy were expected to be given to hospitality.† But both monasteries and ntry parsonages often lay at a distance of miles of miry and intricate oad off the highway. We must picture this state of the country and of ety to ourselves, before we can appreciate the intentions of those who ded these hospitable establishments; we must try to imagine ourselves ellers, getting belated in a dreary part of the road, where it ran over a k wold, or dived through a dark forest, or approached an unknown before we can appreciate the gratitude of those who suddenly caught

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Blomfield, in his "History of Norfolk," 1532, says, "It is to be observed that tages were erected, for the most part, near great bridges (see *Mag. Brit.*, On War- hire, p. 597, Dugdale, &c., and Badwell's 'Description of Tottenham') and high , as appears from this, and those at Brandon, Downham, Stow Bardolph, in Norfolk, Crith, in the Isle of Ely, &c."

n the settlement of the vicarage of Kelvedon, Essex, when the rectory was impro- d to the abbot and convent of Westminster, in the fourteenth century, it was ssly ordered that the convent, besides providing the vicar a suitable house, should provide a hall for receiving guests. See subsequent chapter on the Secular y.

the light from the hermit's window, or heard the faint tinkle of his cha bell ringing for vespers.

Such incidents occur frequently in the romances. Here is an example "Sir Launcelot rode all that day and all that night in a forest; and at last, he was ware of an hermitage and a chapel that stood between t cliffs; and then he heard a little bell ring to mass, and thither he ro and alighted, and tied his horse to the gate, and heard mass." Aga "Sir Gawayne rode till he came to an hermitage, and there he found good man saying his even-song of our Lady. And there Sir Gawa asked harbour for charity, and the good man granted it him gladly."

We shall, perhaps, most outrage the popular idea of a hermit, when assert that hermits sometimes lived in towns. The extract from "P Ploughman's Vision," already quoted, tells us of—

> "Eremites that inhabit them
> In boroughs among brewers."

The difficulty of distinguishing between hermits proper and recl becomes very perplexing in this part of our subject. There is abund proof, which we shall have occasion to give later, that recluses, both m and female, usually lived in towns and villages, and these recluses are so times called hermits, as well as by their more usual and peculiar nam anchorites and anchoresses. But we are inclined to the opinion, that no the male solitaries who lived in towns were recluses. The author of "P Ploughman's Vision" speaks of the eremites who inhabited in borough if they were of the same class as those who lived by the highways, and ought to have lived in the wildernesses, like St. Anthony. The the under which it was made possible for a solitary, an eremite, a man of desert, to live in a town, was, that a churchyard formed a solitary p --a desert—within the town. The curious history which we are going relate, seems to refer to hermits, not to recluses. The Mayor of Sudb under date January 28, 1433, petitioned the Bishop of Norwich, set forth that the bishop had refused to admit "Richard Appleby, of Sudb conversant with John Levynton, of the same town, heremyte, to the o of Hermits, unless he was sure to be inhabited in a solitary place w

es might be increased, and vice exiled;" and that therefore "we have ed hym, be the assent of all the sayd parish and cherch reves, to be ited with the sayd John Levynton in his solitary place and hermytage, n y^t is made at the cost of the parysh, in the cherchyard of St. ory Cherche, to dwellen togedyr as (long as) yey liven, or whiche of longest liveth;" and thereupon the mayor prays the bishop to admit ard Appleby to the order.

is curious incident of two solitaries living together has a parallel in mance of "King Arthur." When the bold Sir Bedivere had lost his King Arthur, he rode away, and, after some adventures, came to a l and an hermitage between two hills, "and he prayed the hermit ne might abide there still with him, to live with fasting and prayers. Bedivere abode there still with the hermit; and there Sir Bedivere pon him poor clothes, and served the hermit full lowly in fasting and yers." And afterwards (as we have already related) Sir Launcelot all that day and all that night in a forest. And at the last he was of an hermitage and a chapel that stood between two cliffs, and then ard a little bell ring to mass; and thither he rode, and alighted, and is horse to the gate and heard mass." He had stumbled upon rmitage in which Sir Bedivere was living. And when Sir Bedivere nade himself known, and had "told him his tale all whole," "Sir elot's heart almost burst for sorrow, and Sir Launcelot threw abroad nour, and said,—'Alas! who may trust this world?' And then he d down on his knees, and prayed the hermit for to shrive him and him. And then he besought the hermit that he might be his r. And he put an habit upon Sir Launcelot, and there he served ay and night with prayers and fastings." And afterwards Sir Bors n the same way. And within half a year there was come Sir Galahad, liodin, Sir Bleoberis, Sir Villiers, Sir Clarus, and Sir Gahalatine. ese seven noble knights abode there still: and when they saw that uncelot had taken him unto such perfection, they had no list to , but took such an habit as he had. Thus they endured in great ce six years, and then Sir Launcelot took the habit of priesthood, velve months he sung the mass; and there was none of these other

knights but that they read in books, and helped for to sing mass, and bells, and did lowly all manner of service. And so their horses w where they would, for they took no regard in worldly riches." And aft little time Sir Launcelot died at the hermitage: "then was there wee and wringing of hands, and the greatest dole they made that ever m man. And on the morrow the bishop-hermit sung his mass of requi The accompanying wood-cut, from one of the small compartments at bottom of Cosimo Roselli's picture of St. Jerome, from which we l already taken the figure of St. Damasus, may serve to illustrate

Funeral Service of a Hermit.

incident. It represents a number of hermits mourning over one of brethren, while a priest, in the robes proper to his office, stands a head of the bier and says prayers, and his deacon stands at the foot, ing a processional cross. The contrast between the robes of the and those of the hermits is lost in the woodcut; in the original the pr cope and amys are coloured red, while those of the hermits are tinted light brown.

If the reader has wondered how the one hermitage could accomm these seven additional habitants, the romancer does not forget to s

iosity: a few pages farther we read—"So at the season of the night ent all to their beds, for they all lay in one chamber." It was not nusual for hermitages to be built for more than one occupant; but ly, in all such cases, each hermit had his own cell, adjoining their n chapel. This was the original arrangement of the hermits of the s in their laura. The great difference between a hermitage with han one hermit, and a small cell of one of the other religious orders, at in such a cell one monk or friar would have been the prior, and ers subject to him; but each hermit was independent of any ty on the part of the other; he was subject only to the obligation ule, and the visitation of his bishop.

life* of the famous hermit, Richard of Hampole, which has lately ublished for the first time by the Early English Text Society, will us to realise in some detail the character and life of a mediæval hermit ighest type. Saint Richard was born† in the village of Thornton, shire. At a suitable age he was sent to school by the care of his , and afterwards was sent by Richard Neville, Archdeacon of Durham, rd, where he gave himself specially to theological study. At the age teen, considering the uncertainty of life and the awfulness of judg- specially to those who waste life in pleasure or spend it in acquiring and fearing lest he should fall into such courses, he left Oxford and l to his father's house. One day he asked of his sister two of her (tunicas), one white, the other grey, and a cloak and hood of his He cut up the two gowns, and fashioned out of them and of the cloak an imitation of a hermit's habit, and next day he went off eighbouring wood bent upon living a hermit life. Soon after, on l of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, he went to a certain and knelt down to pray in the place which the wife of a certain knight, John de Dalton, was accustomed to occupy. When the e to church, her servants would have turned out the intruder, but ld not permit it. When vespers were over and he rose from his

* From the "Officium et Legenda de Vita Ricardi Rolle."

† When is not stated; he died in 1349.

knees, the sons of Sir John, who were students at Oxford, recognise as the son of William Rolle, whom they had known at Oxford. Ne Richard again went to the same church, and without any bidding pu surplice and sang mattins and the office of the mass with the rest. when the gospel was to be read at mass, he sought the blessing priest, and then entered the pulpit and preached a sermon to the peo such wonderful edification that many were touched with compunctio to tears, and all said they had never heard before a sermon of such and efficacy. After mass Sir John Dalton invited him to dinner. he entered into the manor he took his place in a ruined building, and not enter the hall, according to the evangelical precept, "When th bidden to a wedding sit down in the lowest room, and when he tha bidden thee shall see it he will say to thee, Friend, go up hig which was fulfilled in him, for the knight made him sit at tabl his own sons. But he kept such silence at dinner that he di speak one word; and when he had eaten sufficiently he rose before took away the table and would have departed, but the knigh him this was contrary to custom, and made him sit down again. dinner the knight had some private conversation with him, and satisfied that he was not a madman, but really seemed to have the tion to a hermit's life, he clothed him at his own cost in a hermit's and retained him a long time in his own house, giving him a s chamber (*locum mansionis solitariæ*)* and providing him with all saries. Our hermit then gave himself up to ascetic discipline contemplative life. He wrote books; he counselled those who ca him. He did both at the same time; for one afternoon the lady of the

* Afterwards it is described as a cell at a distance from the family, where accustomed to sit solitary and to pass his time in contemplation. In doing this S Dalton and his wife were, according to the sentiment of the time, following the e of the Shunammite and her husband, who made for Elisha a little chamber on th and set for him there a bed, and a table, and a stool, and a candlestick (2 Kings The Knight of La Tour Landry illustrates this when in one of his tales (ch. describes the Shunammite's act in the language of mediæval custom: "Thi woman had gret devocion unto this holy man, and required and praied hym for t to her burghe and loged in her hous, and her husbonde and she made a chamb taue for this holy man, where as he might use his devocions and serve God."

him with many other persons and found him writing very rapidly,
gged him to stop writing and speak some words of edification to
nd he began at once and continued to address them for two hours
nirable exhortations to cultivate virtue and to put away worldly
and to increase the love of their hearts for God; but at the same
went on writing as fast as before. He used to be so absorbed
r that his friends took off his torn cloak, and when it had been
put it on him again, without his knowing it. Soon we hear of his
temptations like those which assailed St. Anthony, the devil
g him in the form of a beautiful woman. He was specially desirous
recluses and those who required spiritual consolation, and who
xed by evil spirits.

ngth Lady Dalton died, and (whether as a result of this is not stated)
nit left his cell and began to move from place to place. One time he
ar the cell of Dame Margaret, the recluse of Anderby in Richmond-
nd was told that she was dumb and suffering from some strange
and went to her. And he sat down at the window of the house of
use,* and when they had eaten, the recluse felt a desire to sleep;
ng oppressed with sleep her head fell towards the window at which
ard was reclined. And when she had slept a little, leaning some-
Richard, suddenly she was seized with a convulsion, and awoke
power of speech restored.

rote many works of ascetic and mystical divinity which were
steemed. The Early English Text Society has published some
ns in the work from which these notices are gathered, which show
reputation as a devotional writer was not undeserved. At length
d at Hampole, where was a Cistercian nunnery. Here he died,
ne church of the nunnery he was buried. We are indebted for the
and Legenda from which we have gathered this outline of his life
ous care of the nuns of Hampole, to whom the fame of Richard's
was a source of great profit and honour. That he had a line of

r the little window through which she communicated with the outer world, or
s suggested further on) a window between her cell and a guest-chamber in
received visitors.

successors in his anchorage is indicated by the fact hereafter st (p. 128), that in 1415 A.D., Lord Scrope left by will a bequest to Eliza late servant to the anchoret of Hampole.

There are indications that these hermitages were sometimes mere bo of branches; there is a representation of one, from which we here gi woodcut, in an illuminated MS. romance of Sir Launcelot, of fourteenth-century date (British Museum, Add. 10,293, folio 118 v., 1316): we have already noticed another of wattled work.* There are

Sir Launcelot and a Hermit.

caves † here and there in the country which are said by tradition to been hermitages: one is described in the *Archæological Journal*, vo p. 150. It is a small cave, not easy of access, in the side of a hill c Carcliff Tor, near Rowsley, a little miserable village not far from Ha Hall. In a recess, on the right side as you enter the cave, is a cr about four feet high, sculptured in bold relief in the red grit rock c

* A hermitage, partly of stone, partly of timber, may be seen in the beautiful Egerton 1,147, f. 218 v.

† A very good representation of a cave hermitage may be found in the lat Egerton, 2,125, f. 206 v. Also in the Harl. MS. 1,527, at f. 14 v., is a hermit in a and in Royal 10 E IV. f. 130, here a man is bringing the hermit food and drink.

the cave is hollowed; and close to it, on the right, is a rude niche. s to hold a lamp.

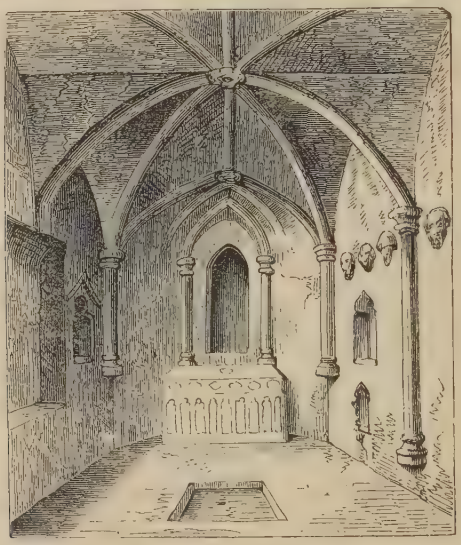
Robert's Chapel, at Knaresborough, Yorkshire, is a very excellent le of a hermitage.* It is hewn out of the rock, at the bottom of a the corner of a sequestered dell. The exterior, a view of which is below, presents us with a simply arched doorway at the bottom of

Exterior View of St. Robert's Chapel, Knaresborough.

gh cliff, with an arched window on the left, and a little square between, which looks like the little square window of a recluse. y we find the cell sculptured into the fashion of a little chapel, roined ceiling, the groining shafts and ribs well enough designed, er rudely executed. There is a semi-octagonal apsidal recess at end, in which the altar stands; a piscina and a credence and stone ne north wall; a row of sculptured heads in the south wall, and a ne in the middle of the floor. This chapel appears to have been

ne Aram's famous murder was perpetrated within it. See Sir E. L. Bulwer's of the scene in his "Eugene Aram."

also the hermit's living room. The view of the exterior, and of the int
and ground-plan, are from Carter's "Ancient Architecture," pl.
Another hermitage, whose chapel is very similar to this, is at Warkw
It is half-way up the cliff, on one side of a deep, romantic valley, thr
which runs the river Coquet, overhung with woods. The chapel is
out of the rock, 18 feet long by 7½ wide, with a little entrance-porc
the south, also hewn in the rock; and, on the farther side, a long, na



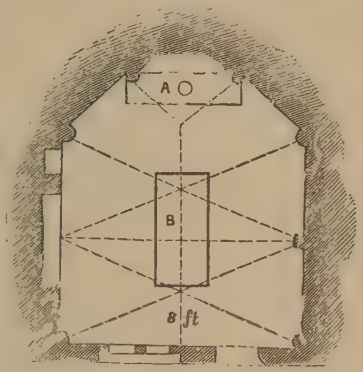
Interior View of St. Robert's Chapel.

apartment, with a small altar at the east end, and a window looking
the chapel altar. This long apartment was probably the hermit's
room; but when the Earls of Northumberland endowed the hermitag
a chantry priest, the priest seems to have lived in a small house, w
garden attached, at the foot of the cliff. The chapel is groined, an
Gothic windows, very like that of Knaresborough. A minute descr
of this hermitage, and of the legend connected with it, is given in a
called "The History of Warkworth" (4to, 1775), and in a letter in G
"Antiquities," vol. iii., is a ground-plan of the chapel and its appurten

ew of the exterior, showing its picturesque situation, will be found erne's "Antiquities of Great Britain," pl. 9.

ere is a little cell, or oratory, called the hermitage, cut out of ace of a rock near Dale Abbey, Derbyshire. On the south side he door and three windows; at the east end, an altar standing a raised platform, both cut out of the rock; there are little niches in alls, and a stone seat all round.*

ere is another hermitage of three cells at Wetheral, near Carlisle, Wetheral Safeguard, or St. Constantine's Cells—Wetheral Priory was ated to St. Constantine, and this hermitage seems to have belonged to iory. It is not far from Wetheral , in the face of a rock standing eet perpendicularly out of the Eden, which washes its base; ill rising several hundred feet still above this rocky escarpment. hermitage is at a height of 40 om the river, and can only be ached from above by a narrow fficult path down the face of the ce. It consists of three square close together, about 10 feet and 8 feet high; each with passage leading to it, which increases its total length to about 20 These passages communicate with a little platform of rock in front cells. At a lower level than this platform, by about 7 feet, there arrow gallery built up of masonry; the door to the hermitage ne end of it, so that access to the cells can only be obtained ns of a ladder from this gallery to the platform of rock 7 feet t. In the front of the gallery are three windows, opposite to the lls, to give them light, and one chimney. An engraving will be n Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland," vol. i. p. 160, which



Ground-Plan of St. Robert's Chapel.

* See view in Stukeley's "Itin. Curios.," pl. 14.

shows the picturesque scene—the rocky hill-side, with the river wash round its base, and the three windows of the hermitage, half-way peeping through the foliage; there is also a careful plan of the cells in letterpress.

A chapel, and a range of rooms—which communicate with one anot and form a tolerably commodious house of two floors, are excavated ou a rocky hill-side, called Blackstone Rock, which forms the bank of Severn, near Bewdley, Worcestershire. A view of the exterior of the r and a plan and section of the chambers, are given both in Stukel

"Itinerarium Curiosum," pls. 13 and 14, and in Nash's "Histor Worcestershire," vol. ii. p. 48.

At Lenton, near Nottingham, there is a chapel and a range of excavated out of the face of a semicircular sweep of rock, which crops on the bank of the river Leen. The river winds round the other semici leaving a space of greensward between the rock and the river, upon which cells open. Now, the whole place is enclosed, and used as a public ga and bowling-green, its original features being, however, preserved wi praiseworthy appreciation of their interest. In former days this hermi was just within the verge of the park of the royal castle of Nottingham

as doubtless screened by the trees of the park; and its inmates might pace and fro on their secluded grass-plot, fenced in by the rock and the river om every intruding foot, and yet in full view of the walls and towers of e castle, with the royal banner waving from its keep, and catch a glimpse the populous borough, and see the parties of knights and ladies prance er the level meadows which stretched out to the neighbouring Trent e a green carpet, embroidered in spring and autumn by the purple ocus, which grows wild there in myriads. Stukeley, in his "Itinerarium riosum," pl. 39, gives a view and ground-plan of these curious cells. arter also figures them in his "Ancient Architecture," pl. 12, and gives tails of a Norman shaft and arch in the chapel.

But nearly all the hermitages which we read of in the romances, or see picted in the illuminations and paintings, or find noticed in ancient storical documents, are substantial buildings of stone or timber. Here one from folio 56 of the "History of Launcelot" (Add. 10,293): the rmit stands at the door of his house, giving his parting benediction to r Launcelot, who, with his attendant physician, is taking his leave after a ght's sojourn at the hermitage. In the paintings of the Campo Santo, at sa (engraved in Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art"), which present the hermits of the Egyptian desert, some of the hermitages are ves, some are little houses of stone. In Caxton's "Vitas Patrum" the rmitages are little houses; one has a stepped gable; another is like a teway, with a room over it.* They were founded and built, and often dowed, by the same men who founded chantries, and built churches, and dowed monasteries; and from the same motives of piety, charity, or perstition. And the founders seem often to have retained the patronage the hermitages, as of valuable benefices, in their own hands.† A hermit-

* Suggesting the room so often found over a church porch.

† In the year 1490, a dispute having arisen between the abbot and convent of Easby the Grey Friars of Richmond, on the one part, and the burgesses of Richmond, on other part, respecting the disposition of the goods of Margaret Richmond, late horess of the same town, it was at length settled that the goods should remain with warden and brethren of the friars, after that her debts and the repair of the anchorage e defrayed, "because the said anchoress took her habit of the said friars," and that abbot and convent should have the disposition of the then anchoress, Alison

age was, in fact, a miniature monastery, inhabited by one religious, w was abbot, and prior, and convent, all in one: sometimes also by a ch lain,* where the hermit was not a priest, and by several lay brethren, servants. It had a chapel of its own, in which divine service was perfor daily. It had also the apartments necessary for the accommodatio the hermit, and his chaplain—when one lived in the hermitage—and servants, and the necessary accommodation for travellers besides; an had often, perhaps generally, its court-yard and garden.

The chapel of the hermitage seems not to have been appropriated so to the performance of divine offices, but to have been made useful other more secular purposes also. Indeed, the churches and chapel the Middle Ages seem often to have been used for great occasion a semi-religious character, when a large apartment was requisite, *e.g.* holding councils, for judicial proceedings, and the like. Godric of Finch a hermit who lived about the time of Henry II.,† had two chapels adj ing his cell; one he called by the name of St. John Baptist, the other the Blessed Virgin. He had a kind of common room, "comm domus," in which he cooked his food and saw visitors; but he lived chi day and night, in the chapel of St. John, removing his bed to the ch of St. Mary at times of more solemn devotion.

In an illumination on folio 153 of the "History of Launcelot," alre quoted (British Mus., Add. 10,293), is a picture of King Arthur ta

Comeston, after her decease; and so to continue for evermore between the said and warden, as it happens that the anchoress took her habit of religion. And tha burgesses shall have the nomination and free election of the said anchoress for ever from time to time when it happens to be void, as they have had without time of (Test. Ebor. ii. 115.)

* In June 5, 1356, Edward III. granted to brother Regnier, hermit of the Cha St. Mary Magdalen, without Salop, a certain plot of waste called Shelcrosse, conti to the chapel, containing one acre, to hold the same to him and his successors, he there, for their habitation, and to find a chaplain to pray in the chapel for the king's &c. (Owen and Blakeway's "History of Shrewsbury," vol. ii. p. 165). "Perh say our authors, "this was the eremitical habitation in the wood of Suttona (S being a village just without Salop), which is recorded elsewhere to have been giv Richard, the Dapifer of Chester, to the monks of Salop."

† "Vita S. Godrici," published by the Surtees Society.

unsel with a hermit in his hermitage. The building in which they are ated has a nave and aisles, a rose-window in its gable, and a bell-turret, l seems intended to represent the chapel of the hermitage. Again, at io 107 of the same MS. is a picture of a hermit talking to a man, h the title,—"Ensi y come une hermites prole en une chapele de hermitage,"—"How a hermit conversed in the chapel of his hermitage." may, perhaps, have been in the chapel that the hermit received those o sought his counsel on spiritual or on secular affairs.

In addition to the references which have already been given to illustions of the subject in the illuminations of MSS., we call the special ention of the student to a series of pictures illustrating a mediæval ry of which a hermit is the hero, in the late thirteenth century MS. yal 10 E IV.; it begins at folio 113 v., and runs on for many pages, l is full of interesting passages.

We also add a few lines from Lydgate's unpublished "Life of St. mund," as a typical picture of a hermit, drawn in the second quarter of fifteenth century:—

"—holy Ffremund though he were yonge of age,
And ther he bilte a litel hermitage
Be side a ryver with al his besy peyne,
He and his fellawis that were in nombre tweyne.

"A litel chapel he dide ther edifie,
Day be day to make in his praiere,
In the reverence only off Marie
And in the worshipe of her Sone deere,
And the space fully off sevene yeere
Hooly Ffremund, lik as it is founde,
Leved be frut and rootes off the grounde.

"Off frutes wilde, his story doth us telle,
Was his repast penance for t' endure,
To stanch his thurst drank water off the welle
And eet acorns to sustene his nature,
Kernelles off notis [nuts] when he myhte hem recure.
To God alway doying reverence,
What ever he sent took it in patience."

nd in concluding this chapter let us call to mind Spenser's description

of a typical hermit and hermitage, while the originals still lingered in living memory of the people :—

"At length they chaunst to meet upon the way
An aged sire, in long blacke weedes yclad,
His feet all bare, his head all hoarie gray,
And by his belt his booke he hanging had ;
Sober he seemde, and very sagely sad,
And to the ground his eyes were lowly bent,
Simple in shew, and voide of malice bad ;
And all the way he prayed as he went,
And often knockt his brest as one that did repent.

"He faire the knight saluted, louting low,
Who faire him quited, as that courteous was ;
And after asked him if he did know
Of strange adventures which abroad did pas.
'Ah! my dear sonne,' quoth he, 'how should, alas!
Silly* old man, that lives in hidden cell,
Bidding his beades all day for his trespas,
Tidings of war and worldly trouble tell?
With holy father sits not with such things to mell.'†
* * * * * *
Quoth then that aged man, 'The way to win
Is wisely to advise. Now day is spent,
Therefore with me ye may take up your in
For this same night.' The knight was well content;
So with that godly father to his home he went.

"A little lowly hermitage it was,
Down in a dale, hard by a forest's side,
Far from resort of people that did pass
In traveill to and froe ; a little wyde
There was an holy chappell edifyde,
Wherein the hermite dewly wont to say
His holy things, each morne and eventyde ;
Hereby a chrystall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway.

"Arrived there, the little house they fill ;
Ne look for entertainment where none was ;
Rest is their feast, and all things at their will;
The noblest mind the best contentment has.
With fair discourse the evening so they pas ;
For that old man of pleasing words had store,
And well could file his tongue as smooth as glas;

* Simple. † Meddle.

He told of saintes and popes, and evermore
He strowd an Ave-Mary after and before."*
Faery Queen, i. 1, 29, 33, 34, 35.

* Since the above was written, the writer has had an opportunity of visiting a ermitage very like those at Warkworth, Wetheral, Bewdley, and Lenton, still in use id habitation. It is in the parish of Limay, near Mantes, a pretty little town on the ilway between Rouen and Paris. Nearly at the top of a vine-clad hill, on the north of e valley of the Seine, in which Mantes is situated, a low face of rock crops out. In is rock have been excavated a chapel, a sacristy, and a living-room for the hermit; and e present hermit has had a long refectory added to his establishment, in which to give s annual dinner to the people who come here, one day in the year, in considerable umbers, on pilgrimage. The chapel differs from those which we have described in the xt in being larger and ruder; it is so wide that its rocky roof is supported by two rows rude pillars, left standing for that purpose by the excavators. There is an altar at the st end. At the west end is a representation of the Entombment; the figure of our ord, lying as if it had become rigid in the midst of the writhing of his agony, is not ithout a rude force of expression. One of the group of figures standing about the mb has a late thirteenth-century head of a saint placed upon the body of a Roman soldier the Renaissance period. There is a grave-stone with an incised cross and inscription side the tomb; and in the niche on the north side is a recumbent monumental effigy stone, with the head and hands in white glazed pottery. But whether these things ere originally placed in the hermitage, or whether they are waifs and strays from neighuring churches, brought here as to an ecclesiastical peep-show, it is hard to determine; e profusion of other incongruous odds and ends of ecclesiastical relics and fineries, with hich the whole place is furnished, inclines one to the latter conjecture. There is a bellrret built on the rock over the chapel, and a chimney peeps through the hill-side, over e sacristy fireplace. The platform in front of the hermitage is walled in, and there is a tle garden on the hill above. The curé of Limay performs service here on certain ys in the year. The hermit will disappoint those who desire to see a modern ample of

"An aged sire, in long black weedes yclad,
His feet all bare, his beard all hoarie gray."

e is an aged sire, seventy-four years old; but for the rest, he is simply a little, ithered, old French peasant, in a blue blouse and wooden sabots. He passes his days ere in solitude, unless when a rare party of visitors ring at his little bell, and, after due spection through his *grille*, are admitted to peep about his chapel and his grotto, and share his fine view of the valley shut in by vine-clad hills, and the Seine winding rough the flat meadows, and the clean, pretty town of Mantes *le jolie* in the middle, ith its long bridge and its cathedral-like church. Whether he spends his time

"Bidding his beades all day for his trespas,"

e did not inquire; but he finds the hours lonely. The good curé of Limay wishes him sleep in his hermitage, but, like the hermit-priest of Warkworth, he prefers sleeping the village at the foot of the hill.

CHAPTER II.

ANCHORESSES, OR FEMALE RECLUSES.

AND now we proceed to speak more particularly of the recluses The old legend tells us that John the Hermit, the contemporar of St. Anthony, would hold communication with no man excep through the window of his cell.* But the recluses of more modern day were not content to quote John the Egyptian as their founder. As th Carmelite friars claimed Elijah, so the recluses, at least the femal recluses, looked up to Judith as the foundress of their mode of life, an patroness of their order.

Mabillon tells us that the first who made any formal rule for recluses wa one Grimlac, who lived about 900 A.D. The principal regulations of h rule are, that the candidate for reclusion, if a monk, should signify h intention a year beforehand, and during the interval should continue t live among his brethren. If not already a monk, the period of probatio was doubled. The leave of the bishop of the diocese was to be fir obtained, and if the candidate were a monk, the leave of his abbot an convent also. When he had entered his cell, the bishop was to put h seal upon the door, which was never again to be opened,† unless for th

* One of the little hermitages represented in the Campo Santo series of paintings the old Egyptian hermit-saints (engraved in Mrs. Jameson's "Legends of the Monas Orders") has a little grated window, through which the hermit within (probably t John) is talking with another outside.

† That recluses did, however, sometimes quit their cells on a great emergency, learn from the Legenda of Richard of Hampole already quoted, where we are told th at his death Dame Margaret Kyrkley, the recluse of Anderby, on hearing of the sain death, hastened to Hampole to be present at his funeral.

lp of the recluse in time of sickness or on the approach of death. Suc-ssive councils published canons to regulate this kind of life. That of illo, in 692, repeats in substance the rule of Grimlac. That of Frankfort, 787, refers to the recluses. The synod of Richard de la Wich, Bishop Chichester, A.D. 1246, makes some canons concerning them: "Also we dain to recluses that they shall not receive or keep any person in their uses concerning whom any sinister suspicion might arise. Also that ey have narrow and proper windows; and we permit them to have secret mmunication with those persons only whose gravity and honesty do not lmit of suspicion." *

Towards the end of the twelfth century a rule for anchorites was written Bishop Richard Poore† of Chichester, and afterwards of Salisbury, who ed A.D. 1237, which throws abundant light upon their mode of life; for is not merely a brief code of the regulations obligatory upon them, but it a book of paternal counsels, which enters at great length, and in minute tail, into the circumstances of the recluse life, and will be of great use to in the subsequent part of this chapter.

There were doubtless different degrees of austerity among the recluses; t, on the whole, we must banish from our minds the popular‡ idea that ey inhabited a living grave, and lived a life of the extremest mortification. oubtless there were instances in which religious enthusiasm led the

* Wilkins's "Concilia," i. 693.

† Several MSS. of this rule are known under different names. Fosbroke quotes one the rule of Simon de Gandavo (or Simon of Ghent), in Cott. MS. Nero A xiv.; other in Bennet College, Cambridge; and another under the name of Alfred Reevesley. e Fosbroke's "British Monachism," pp. 374-5. The various copies, indeed, seem to fer considerably, but to be all derived from the work ascribed to Bishop Poore. All se books are addressed to female recluses, which is a confirmation of the opinion ich we have before expressed, that the majority of the recluses were women.

‡ Thus the player-queen in *Hamlet*, iii. 2:—

> "Nor earth to me give food, nor heaven light!
> Sport and repose lock from me, day, and night!
> To desperation turn my trust and hope!
> An anchor's cheer in prison be my scope!
> Each opposite, that blanks the face of joy,
> Meet what I would have well, and it destroy," &c.

recluse into frightful and inhuman self-torture, like that of Thaysis, in th
"Golden Legend:" "She went to the place whiche th' abbot had assygne
to her, and there was a monasterye of vyrgyns; and there he closed h
in a celle, and sealed the door with led. And the celle was lytyll an
strayte, and but one lytell wyndowe open, by whyche was mynistred to h
poor lyvinge; for the abbot commanded that they shold gyve to her
lytell brede and water."* Thaysis submitted to it at the command
Abbot Pafnucius, as penance for a sinful life, in the early days of Egyptia
austerity; and now and then throughout the subsequent ages the sel
hatred of an earnest, impassioned nature, suddenly roused to a feeling
exceeding sinfulness; the remorse of a wild, strong spirit, conscious of gre
crimes; or the enthusiasm of a weak mind and morbid conscience, mig
urge men and women to such self-revenges, to such penances, as thes
Bishop Poore gives us episodically a pathetic example, which our reade
will thank us for repeating here. "Nothing is ever so hard that love do
not make tender, and soft, and sweet. Love maketh all things eas
What do men and women endure for false love, and would endure mor
And what is more to be wondered at is, that love which is faithful a
true, and sweeter than any other love, doth not overmaster us as do
sinful love! Yet I know a man who weareth at the same time both
heavy cuirass† and haircloth, bound with iron round the middle too, a
his arms with broad and thick bands, so that to bear the sweat of it
severe suffering. He fasteth, he watcheth, he laboureth, and, Chri
knoweth, he complaineth, and saith that it doth not oppress him; a
often asks me to teach him something wherewith he might give his bo
pain. God knoweth that he, the most sorrowful of men, weepeth to m
and saith that God hath quite forgotten him, because He sendeth him
great sickness; whatever is bitter seems sweet to him for our Lord's sak
God knoweth love doth this, because, as he often saith to me, he cou
never love God the less for any evil thing that He might do to him, ev

* A cell in the north-west angle of Edington Abbey Church, Wilts, seems to be
this kind.

† The wearing a cuirass, or hauberk of chain mail, next the skin became a noted fo
of self-torture; those who undertook it were called *Loricati*.

were He to cast him into hell with those that perish. And if any believe any such thing of him, he is more confounded than a thief taken with his theft. I know also a woman of like mind that suffereth little less. And what remaineth but to thank God for the strength that He giveth them; and let us humbly acknowledge our own weakness, and love their merit, and thus it becomes our own. For as St. Gregory says, love is of so great power that it maketh the merit of others our own, without labour." But though powerful motives and great force of character might enable an individual here and there to persevere with such austerities, when the severities of the recluse life had to be reduced to rule and system, and when a succession of occupants had to be found for the vacant anchorholds, ordinary human nature revolted from these unnatural austerities, and the common sense of mankind easily granted a tacit dispensation from them; and the recluse life was speedily toned down in practice to a life which a religiously-minded person, especially one who had been wounded and worsted in the battle of life, might gladly embrace and easily endure.

Usually, even where the cell consisted of a single room, it was large enough for the comfortable abode of a single inmate, and it was not destitute of such furnishing as comfort required. But it was not unusual for the cell to be in fact a house of several apartments, with a garden attached; and it would seem that the technical "cell" within which the recluse was immured, included house and garden, and everything within the boundary wall.* It is true that many of the recluses lived entirely, and perhaps all partly, upon the alms of pious and charitable people. An alms-box was hung up to receive contributions, as appears from "Piers Ploughman,"—

"In ancres there a box hangeth."

And in the extracts hereafter given from the "Ancren Riewle," we shall find several allusions to the giving of alms to recluses as a usual custom. But it was the bishop's duty, before giving license for the building of a reclusorium, to satisfy himself that there would be, either from alms or from an endowment, a sufficient maintenance for the recluse. Practically, they

* The cell of a Carthusian monk, as we have stated, consisted of a little house of three apartments and a little garden within an inclosure wall.

do not seem often to have been in want; they were restricted as to the times when they might eat flesh-meat, but otherwise their abstemiousness depended upon their own religious feeling on the subject; and the only check upon excess was in their own moderation. They occupied themselves, besides their frequent devotions, in reading, writing, illuminating and needlework; and though the recluses attached to some monasteries seem to have been under an obligation of silence, yet in the usual case the recluse held a perpetual levee at the open window, and gossiping and scanda

Sir Percival at the Reclusorium.

appear to have been among her besetting sins. It will be our business t verify and further to illustrate this general sketch of the recluse life.

And, first, let us speak more in detail of their habitations. The reclu sorium, or anchorhold, seems sometimes to have been, like the hermitage a house of timber or stone, or a grotto in a solitary place. In Sir T Mallory's "Prince Arthur" we are introduced to one of these, whic afforded all the appliances for lodging and entertaining even male guests We read :—"Sir Percival returned again unto the recluse, where he deeme to have tidings of that knight which Sir Launcelot followed. And so h kneeled at her window, and anon the recluse opened it, and asked S Percival what he would. 'Madam,' said he, 'I am a knight of Kin

Arthur's court, and my name is Sir Percival de Galis.' So when the recluse heard his name, she made passing great joy of him, for greatly she loved him before all other knights of the world; and so of right she ought to do, for she was his aunt. And then she commanded that the gates should be opened to him, and then Sir Percival had all the cheer that she might make him, and all that was in her power was at his commandment." But it does not seem that she entertained him in person; for the story continues that "on the morrow Sir Percival went unto the recluse," *i.e.*, to her little audience window, to propound his question, "if she knew that knight with the white shield." Opposite is a woodcut of a picture in the MS. "History of Sir Launcelot" (Royal 14, E. III. folio 101 v.), entitled, "Ensi q Percheva retourna à la rencluse qui estait en son hermitage."*

In the case of these large remote anchorholds, the recluse must have had a chaplain to come and say mass for her every day in the chapel of her hermitage.† But in the vast majority of cases, anchorholds were attached to a church either of a religious house, or of a town, or of a village; and in these situations they appear to have been much more numerous than is at all suspected by those who have not inquired into this little-known portion of our mediæval antiquities. Very many of our village churches had a recluse living within or beside them, and it will, perhaps, especially surprise the majority of our readers to learn that these recluses were specially numerous in the mediæval towns.‡ The proofs of this fact are abundant; here are some. Henry, Lord Scrope, of Masham, by will, dated 23rd June, 1415, bequeathed to every anchoret§ and recluse dwelling in London or its suburbs 6*s.* 8*d.*; also to every anchoret and recluse dwelling in York and its suburbs 6*s.* 8*d.* From other sources we learn more about

* This very same picture is given also in another MS. of about the same date, marked Add. 10,294, at folio 14.

† As was probably the case at Warkworth, the hermit living in the hermitage, while the chantry priest lived in the house at the foot of the hill.

‡ "Eremites that inhabiten
By the highways,
And in boroughs among brewers."
Piers Ploughman's Visim.

§ Probably "anchoret" means male, and "recluse" female recluse.

these York anchorets and recluses. The will of Adam Wigan, rector of St. Saviour, York (April 20, 1433, A.D.)*, leaves 3*s.* 4*d.* to Dan John who dwelt in the Chapel of St. Martin, within the parish of St. Saviour. The female recluses of York were three in number in the year 1433, as we learn from the will of Margaret, relict of Nicholas Blackburne:† "Legi tribus reclusis Ebor.," ij*s.* Where their cells were situated we learn from the will of Richard Rupell (A.D. 1435‡), who bequeaths to the recluse in the cemetery of the Church of St. Margaret, York, five marks; and to the recluse in the cemetery of St. Helen, in Fishergate, five marks; and to the recluse in the cemetery of All Saints, in North Street, York, five marks. They are also all three mentioned in the will of Adam Wigan, who leaves to the anchorite enclosed in Fishergate 2*s.*; to her enclosed near the church of St. Margaret 2*s.*; to her enclosed in North Street near the Church of All Saints, 2*s.* The will of Lady Margaret Stapelton, 1465 A.D.,§ mentions anchorites in Watergate and Fishergate, in the suburbs of York, and in another place the anchorite of the nunnery of St. Clement, York. At Lincoln, also, we are able to trace a similar succession of anchoresses. In 1383 A.D., William de Belay, of Lincoln, left to an anchoress named Isabella, who dwelt in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Wigford, within the city of Lincoln, 13*s.* 4*d.* In 1391, John de Sutton left her 20*s.*; in 1374, John de Ramsay left her 12*d.* Besides these she had numerous other legacies from citizens. In 1453, an anchoress named Matilda supplied the place of Isabella, who we may suppose had long since gone to her reward. In that year John Tilney—one of the Tilneys of Boston—left "Domine Matilde incluse infra ecclesiam sanctæ Trinitatis ad gressus in civitate Lincoln, vj*s.* viij*d.*" In 1502, Master John Watson, a chaplain in Master Robert Flemyng's chantry, left xij*d.* to the "ankers at the Greese foot. This Church of the Holy Trinity "ad gressus" seems to have been for a long period the abode of a female recluse. The will of Roger Eston, rector of Richmond, Yorkshire, A.D. 1444, also mentions the recluses in the city of York and its suburbs. The

* Test. Vetust., ii. 25. † Ibid. ii. 47. ‡ Ibid. ii. 56. § Ibid. ii. 271.
‖ Note p. 87 to "Instructions for Parish Priests," Early English Text Society.

vill of Adam Wilson also mentions Lady Agnes, enclosed at (*apud*) he parish church of Thorganby, and anchorites (female) at Beston and Pontefract. Sir Hugh Willoughby, of Wollaton, in 1463 bequeathed *s.* 5*d.* to the anchoress of Nottingham.* The will of Lady Joan Vombewell, A.D. 1454,† also mentions the anchoress of Beyston. The will of John Brompton, of Beverley, A.D. 1444,‡ bequeaths 3*s.* 4*d.* o the recluse by the Church of St. Giles, and 1*s.* 6*d.* to anchorite at he friary of St. Nicholas of Beverley. Roger Eston also leaves a equest to the anchorite of his parish of Richmond, respecting whom he editor gives a note whose substance is given elsewhere. In a will f the fifteenth century § we have a bequest "to the ancher in the wall eside Bishopsgate, London."‖ In the will of St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester,¶ we have bequests to Friar Humphrey, the recluse of Pageham, o the recluse of Hogton, to the recluse of Stopeham, to the recluse of Herringham; and in the will of Walter de Suffield, Bishop of Norwich, equests to "anchers" and recluses in his diocese, and especially to his iece Ela, *in reclusorio* at Massingham.**

Among the other notices which we have of solitaries living in towns, Lydgate mentions one in the town of Wakefield. Morant says there was ne in Holy Trinity churchyard, Colchester. The episcopal registers of Lichfield show that there was an anchorage for several female recluses in he churchyard of St. George's Chapel, Shrewsbury. The will of Henry, Lord Scrope, already quoted, leaves 100*s.* and the pair of beads which the estator was accustomed to use to the anchorite of Westminster: it was his redecessor, doubtless, who is mentioned in the time of Richard II.: hen the young king was going to meet Wat Tyler in Smithfield, he went o Westminster Abbey, "then to the church, and so to the high altar, here he devoutedly prayed and offered; after which he spake with the

* Test. Vetust., ii. 131. † Ibid. 178. ‡ Ibid. ii. 98. § Ibid. 356.

‖ Other bequests to recluses occur in the will of Henry II., to the recluses (*incluses*) f Jerusalem, England, and Normandy.

¶ Sussex Archæol. Coll., i. p. 174.

** Blomfield's "Norfolk," ii. pp. 347-8. See also the bequests to the Norwich ecluses, *infra*.

anchore, to whom he confessed himself."* Lord Scrope's will goes on bequeath 40*s.* to Robert, the recluse of Beverley; 13*s.* 4*d.* each to t anchorets of Stafford, of Kurkebeck, of Wath, of Peasholme, near York, Kirby, Thorganby, near Colingworth, of Leek, near Upsale, of Gainsburg of Kneesall, near South Well, of Dartford, of Stamford, living in the pari church there; to Thomas, the chaplain dwelling continually in the chur of St. Nicholas, Gloucester; to Elizabeth, late servant to the anchoret Hamphole; and to the recluse in the house of the Dominicans at Ne castle; and also 6*s.* 8*d.* to every other anchorite and anchoritess that cou be easily found within three months of his decease.

We have already had occasion to mention that there were several fema recluses, in addition to the male solitaries, in the churchyards of the th great city of Norwich. The particulars which that laborious antiqua Blomfield, has collected together respecting several of them will throw little additional light upon our subject, and fill up still further the o lines of the picture which we are engaged in painting.

There was a hermitage in the churchyard of St. Julian, Norwich, whi was inhabited by a succession of anchoresses, some of whose names Blo field records:—Dame Agnes, in 1472; Dame Elizabeth Scot, in 148 Lady Elizabeth, in 1510; Dame Agnes Edrigge, in 1524. The La Julian, who was the anchoress in 1393, is said to have had two servants attend her in her old age. "She was esteemed of great holiness. M Francis Peck had a vellum MS. containing an account of her vision Blomfield says that the foundations of the anchorage might still be seen his time, on the east side of St. Julian's churchyard. There was also anchorage in St. Ethelred's churchyard, which was rebuilt in 1305, and anchor continually dwelt there till the Reformation, when it was pul down, and the grange, or tithe-barn, at Brakendale was built with timber; so that it must have been a timber house of some magnitu Also in St. Edward's churchyard, joining to the church on the north si was a cell, whose ruins were still visible in Blomfield's time, and most p sons who died in Norwich left small sums towards its maintenance.

* Stow's Chronicle, p. 559.

428 Lady Joan was anchoress here, to whom Walter Ledman left 20*s*., nd 40*d*. to each of her servants. In 1458, Dame Anneys Kite was the ecluse here; in 1516, Margaret Norman, widow, was buried here, and ave a legacy to the lady anchoress by the church. St. John the Evan-elist's Church, in Southgate, was, about A.D. 1300, annexed to the parish f St. Peter per Montergate, and the Grey Friars bought the site; they ulled down the whole building, except a small part left for an anchorage, which they placed an anchor, to whom they assigned part of the church-ard for his garden. Also there used anciently to be a recluse dwelling in little cell joining to the north side of the tower of St. John the Baptist's hurch, Timber Hill, but it was down before the Dissolution. Also there as an anchor, or hermit, who had an anchorage in or adjoining to All ints' Church. Also in Henry III.'s time a recluse dwelt in the church-ard of St. John the Baptist, and the Holy Sepulchre, in Ber Street. In e monastery of the Carmelites, or White Friars, at Norwich, there were o anchorages—one for a man, who was admitted brother of the house, nd another for a woman, who was admitted sister thereof. The latter as under the chapel of the Holy Cross, which was still standing in Blom-eld's time, though converted into dwelling-houses. The former stood by . Martin's Bridge, on the east side of the street, and had a small garden it, which ran down to the river. In 1442, December 2nd, the Lady mma, recluse, or anchoress, and religious sister of the Carmelite order, as buried in their church. In 1443, Thomas Scroope was anchorite in is house. In 1465, Brother John Castleacre, a priest, was anchorite. 1494 there were legacies given to the anchor of the White Friars. This homas Scroope was originally a Benedictine monk; in 1430 he became chorite here (being received a brother of the Carmelite order), and led anchorite's life for many years, seldom going out of his cell but when he eached; about 1446 Pope Eugenius made him Bishop of Down, which e he afterwards resigned, and came again to his convent, and became ffragan to the Bishop of Norwich. He died, and was buried at Lowes-ft, being near a hundred years old.

The document which we are about to quote from Whittaker's "History Whalley" (pp. 72 and 77), illustrates many points in the history of these

anchorholds. The anchorage therein mentioned was built in a paris churchyard, it depended upon a monastery, and was endowed with a allowance in money and kind from the monastery; it was founded for tw recluses; they had a chaplain and servants; and the patronage was retaine by the founder. The document will also give us some very curious an minute details of the domestic economy of the recluse life; and, lastly, will give us an historical proof that the assertions of the contempora satirists, of the laxity* with which the vows were sometimes kept, were n without foundation.

"In 1349, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, granted in trust to the abbot an convent of Whalley rather large endowments to support two reclus (women) in a certain place within the churchyard of the parish church Whalley, and two women servants to attend them, there to pray for t soul of the duke, &c.; to find them seventeen ordinary loaves, and sev inferior loaves, eight gallons of better beer, and 3*d.* per week; and yea ten large stock-fish, one bushel of oatmeal, one of rye, two gallons of for lamps, one pound of tallow for candles, six loads of turf, and one load faggots; also to repair their habitations; and to find a chaplain to say ma in the chapel of these recluses daily; their successors to be nominat by the duke and his heirs. On July 6, 15th Henry VI., the king nominat Isole de Heton, widow, to be an *anachorita* for life, *in loco ad hoc ordin juxta ecclesiam parochialem de Whalley*. Isole, however, grew tired of t solitary life, and quitted it; for afterwards a representation was made the king that 'divers that had been anchores and recluses in the seyd pla aforetyme, have broken oute of the seyd place wherein they were reclus and departyd therefrom wythout any reconsilyation;' and that Isole Heton had broken out two years before, and was not willing to retur and that divers of the women that had been servants there had been w child. So Henry VI. dissolved the hermitage, and appointed instead t chaplains to say mass daily, &c." Whittaker thinks that the hermita occupied the site of some cottages on the west side of the chur

* In the "Ancren Riewle," p. 129, we read, "Who can with more facility com sin than the false recluse?"

ard, which opened into the churchyard until he had the doors walled p.

There was a similar hermitage for several female recluses in the churchard of St. Romauld, Shrewsbury, as we learn from a document among the Bishop of Lichfield's registers,* in which he directs the Dean of St. Chadd, r his procurator, to enclose Isolda de Hungerford an anchorite in the ouses of the churchyard of St. Romauld, where the other anchorites well. Also in the same registry there is a precept, dated Feb. 1, 1310, om Walter de Langton, Bishop, to Emma Sprenghose, admitting her an nchorite in the houses of the churchyard of St. George's Chapel, Salop, nd he appoints the archdeacon to enclose her. Another license from oger, Bishop of Lichfield, dated 1362, to Robert de Worthin, permitting im, on the nomination of Queen Isabella, to serve God in the reclusorium uilt adjoining (*juxta*) the chapel of St. John Baptist in the city of Coventry, has been published *in extenso* by Dugdale, and we transcribe it or the benefit of the curious.† Thomas Hearne has printed an Episcopal Commission, dated 1402, for enclosing John Cherde, a monk of Ford bbey. Burnett's "History of Bristol" mentions a commission opened y Bishop William of Wykham, in August, 1403, for enclosing Lucy de Newchurch, an anchoritess in the hermitage of St. Brendon in Bristol. ichard Francis, an ankret, is spoken of as *inter quatuor parietes pro christi clusus* in Langtoft's "Chronicle," ij. 625.

* Owen and Blakeway's "History of Shrewsbury."

† "Rogerus, &c., delecto in Christo filio Roberto de Worthin, cap. salutem, &c. recipue devotionis affectum, quem ad serviendum Deo in reclusorio juxta capellam Sancti ph. Babtiste in civitate Coventriensi constructo, et spretis mundi deliciis et ipsius vagis scurribus contemptis, habere te asseres, propensius intuentes, ac volentes te, considerapne nobilis domine, domine Isabelle Regine Anglie nobis pro te supplicante in hujus udabili proposito confovere, ut in prefato reclusorio morari possis, et recludi et vitam am in eodam ducere in tui laudibus Redemptoris, licentiam tibi quantum in nobis est ncedi per presentes, quibus sigillum nostrum duximus apponendum. Dat apud Heypod, 5 Kal. Dec. M.D. A.D. MCCCLXII, et consecrationis nostræ tricessimo sexto."—UGDALE'S *Warwickshire*, 2nd Edit., p. 193.

CHAPTER III.

ANCHORAGES.

JUST as in a monastery, though it might be large or small i magnitude, simple or gorgeous in style, with more or few offices and appendages, according to the number and wealt of the establishment, yet there was always a certain suite of conventu buildings, church, chapter refectory, dormitory, &c., arranged in a certai order, which formed the cloister; and this cloister was the nucleus all the rest of the buildings of the establishment; so, in a reclusoriu or anchorhold, there was always a "cell" of a certain constructio to which all things else, parlours or chapels, apartments for servan and guests, yards and gardens, were accidental appendages. Bade rule for recluses in Bavaria* describes the dimensions and plan of th cell minutely; the *domus inclusi* was to be 12 feet long by as mar broad, and was to have three windows—one towards the choir (of th church to which it was attached), through which he might receive th Holy Sacrament; another on the opposite side, through which he mig receive his victuals; and a third to give light, which last ought alwa to be closed with glass or horn.

The reader will have already gathered from the preceding extracts th the reclusorium was sometimes a house of timber or stone within t churchyard, and most usually adjoining the church itself. At the west e of Laindon Church, Essex, there is a unique erection of timber, of whi we here give a representation. It has been modernised in appearance

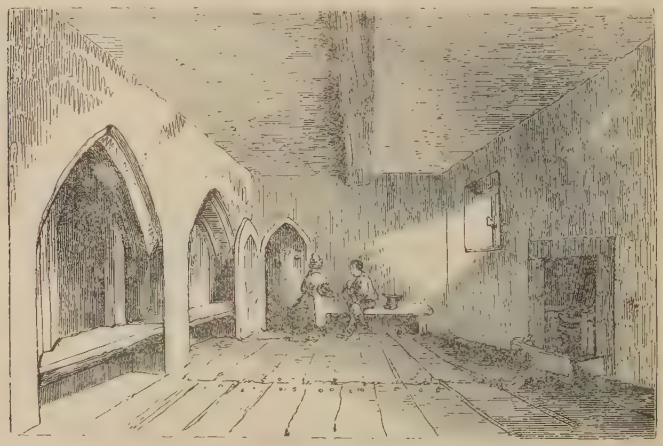
* Fosbroke's "British Monachism," p. 372.

he insertion of windows and doors; and there are no architectural details f a character to reveal with certainty its date, but in its mode of construc- ion—the massive timbers being placed close together—and in its general ppearance, there is an air of considerable antiquity. It is improbable hat a house would be erected in such a situation after the Reforma- ion, and it accords generally with the descriptions of a recluse house. Probably, however, many of the anchorholds attached to churches were f smaller dimensions; sometimes, perhaps, only a single little timber

Laindon Church, Essex.

partment on the ground floor, or sometimes probably raised upon an nder croft, according to a common custom in mediæval domestic buildings. ery probably some of those little windows which occur in many of our urches, in various situations, at various heights, and which, under the me of "low side windows," have formed the subject of so much discus- on among ecclesiologists, may have been the windows of such anchor- olds. The peculiarity of these windows is that they are sometimes merely square opening, which originally was not glazed, but closed with a

shutter; sometimes a small glazed window, in a position where it wa clearly not intended to light the church generally; sometimes a windo has a stone transom across, and the upper part is glazed, while the lowe part is closed only by a shutter. It is clear that some of these may hav served to enable the anchorite, living in a cell *outside* the church, to se the altar. It seems to have been such a window which is alluded t in the following incident from Mallory's "Prince Arthur:"—"Then S Launcelot armed him and took his horse, and as he rode that way h saw a chapel where was a recluse, which had a window that she might se



Reclusorium, or Anchorhold, at Rettenden, Essex.

up to the altar; and all aloud she called Sir Launcelot, because he seeme a knight arrant. . . . . And (after a long conversation) she commande Launcelot to dinner." In the late thirteenth-century MS., Royal 10 IV. at f. 181, is a representation of a recluse-house, in which, besides tw two-light arched windows high up in the wall, there is a smaller squa "low side window" very distinctly shown. Others of these low si windows may have been for the use of wooden anchorholds bu *within* the church, combining two of the usual three windows of t cell, viz., the one to give light, and the one through which to recei

ood and communicate with the outer world. There is an anchorhold till remaining in a tolerably unmutilated state at Rettenden, Essex. It is a stone building of fifteenth-century date, of two stories, adjoining he north side of the chancel. It is entered by a rather elaborately noulded doorway from the chancel. The lower story is now used as a vestry, and is lighted by a modern window broken through its ast wall; but it is described as having been a dark room, and there is o trace of any original window. In the north wall, and towards the ast, is a bracket, such as would hold a small statue or a lamp. In the vest side of this room, on the left immediately on entering it from the hancel, is the door of a stone winding stair (built up in the nave aisle, ut now screened towards the aisle by a very large monument), which ives access to the upper story. This story consists of a room which very xactly agrees with the description of a recluse's cell (see opposite wood-ut). On the south side are two arched niches, in which are stone enches, and the back of the easternmost of these niches is pierced by a mall arched window, now blocked up, which looked down upon the altar. On the north side is a chimney, now filled with a modern fireplace, but he chimney is a part of the original building; and westward of the himney is a small square opening, now filled with modern glazing, but the ook upon which the original shutter hung still remains. This window is ot splayed in the usual mediæval manner, but is recessed in such a way s to allow the head of a person to look out, and especially down, with acility. On the exterior this window is about 10 feet from the ground. n this respect it resembles the situation of a low side window in Prior Crawden's Chapel, Ely Cathedral,* which is on the first floor, having a oom, lighted only by narrow slits, beneath it; and at the Sainte Chapelle, n Paris, which also has an undercroft, there is a similar example of a side vindow, at a still greater height from the ground. The east side of the Rettenden reclusorium has now a modern window, probably occupying the lace of the original window which gave light to the cell. The stair-turret t the top of the winding staircase, seems to have been intended to serve

* Engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, iv. p. 320.

for a little closet: it obtained some light through a small loop which looke out into the north aisle of the church; the wall on the north side of it recessed so as to form a shelf, and a square slab of stone, which looks lik a portion of a thirteenth-century coffin-stone, is laid upon the top of tl newel, and fitted into the wall, so as to form another shelf or little table.

At East Horndon Church, Essex, there are two transept-like projectio from the nave. In the one on the south there is a monumental niche i the south wall, upon the back of which are the indents of the brasses of man and wife and several children; and there is a tradition, with whic these indents are altogether inconsistent, that the heart of the unfortuna Queen Anne Bullen is interred therein. Over this is a chamber, open t the nave, and now used as a gallery, approached by a modern woode stair; and there is a projection outside which looks like a chimne carried out from this floor upwards. The transeptal projection on tl north side is very similar in plan. On the ground floor there is a wid shallow, cinque-foil headed niche (partly blocked) in the east wall; ar there is a wainscot ceiling, very neatly divided into rectangular panels l moulded ribs of the date of about Henry VIII. The existence of tl chamber above was unknown until the present rector discovered a doo way in the east wall of the ground floor, which, on being opened, ga access to a stone staircase behind the east wall, which led up into a firs floor chamber, about 12 feet from east to west, and 8 feet from nor to south: the birds had had access to it through an unglazed window the north wall for an unknown period, and it was half filled with the nests; the floor planks were quite decayed. There is no trace of chimney here. It is now opened out to the nave to form a galler Though we do not find in these two first-floor chambers the arrangemer which could satisfy us that they were recluse cells, yet it is very probab that they were habitable chambers, inhabited, if not by recluses, perha by chantry priests, serving chantry chapels of the Tyrrells.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in an interesting paper in the Transactions of t Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society, mentions several other ancho holds:—"Adjoining the little mountain church of S. Patricio, about fi miles from Crickhowel, South Wales, is an attached building or cell.

ontains on the east side a stone altar, above which is a small window, now locked up, which looked towards the altar of the church; but there was no ther internal communication between this cell and the church, to the west nd of which it is annexed; it appears as if destined for a recluse who was lso a priest." Mr. Bloxam mentions some other examples, very much esembling the one described at Rettenden. The north transept of Clifton Campville Church, Staffordshire, a structure of the fourteenth entury, is vaulted and groined with stone; it measures 17 feet from north o south, and 12 feet from east to west. Over this is a loft or chamber, pparently an anchorhold or *domus inclusi*, access to which is obtained by neans of a newell staircase in the south east angle, from a doorway at the orth-east angle of the chancel. A small window on the south side of his chamber, now blocked up, afforded a view into the interior of the hurch. The roof of this chamber has been lowered, and all the windows locked up.

"On the north side of the chancel of Chipping Norton Church, Oxfordhire, is a revestry which still contains an ancient stone altar, with its ppurtenances, viz., a piscina in the wall on the north side, and a bracket or an image projecting from the east wall, north of the altar. Over this evestry is a loft or chamber, to which access is obtained by means of a taircase in the north-west angle. Apertures in the wall enabled the ecluse, probably a priest, here dwelling, to overlook the chancel and north isle of the church.

"Adjoining the north side of the chancel of Warmington Church, Warickshire, is a revestry, entered through an ogee-headed doorway in the orth wall of the chancel, down a descent of three steps. This revestry ontains an ancient stone altar, projecting from a square-headed window the east wall, and near the altar, in the same wall, is a piscina. In the outh-west angle of this revestry is a flight of stone steps, leading up to a hamber or loft. This chamber contains, in the west wall, a fire-place, in he north-west angle a retiring-closet, or jakes, and in the south wall a mall pointed window, of decorated character, through which the high-altar the chancel might be viewed. In the north wall there appears to have een a pointed window, filled with decorated tracery, and in the east wall

is another decorated window. This is one of the most interesting an complete specimens of the *domus inclusi* I have met with."*

The chamber which is so frequently found over the porch of ou churches, often with a fireplace, a: l sometimes with a closet within i may probably have sometimes been inhabited by a recluse. Chambers a also sometimes found in the towers of churches.† Mr. Bloxam mentio a room, with a fire-place, in the tower of Upton Church, Nottinghamshir Again, at Boyton Church, Wiltshire, the tower is on the north side of th church, "and adjoining the tower on the west side, and communicatin with it, is a room which appears to have been once permanently inhabite and in the north-east angle of this room is a fire-place." At Newport, Salo the first floor of the tower seems to have been a habitable chamber, a has a little inner chamber corbelled out at the north-west angle of th tower.

We have already hinted that it is not improbable that timber ancho holds were sometimes erected inside our churches. Or perhaps the reclus lived in the church itself, or, more definitely, in a par-closed chantry chape without any chamber being purposely built for him. The indications whic lead us to this supposition are these: there is sometimes an ordina domestic fire-place to be found inside the church. For instance, in th north aisle of Layer Marney Church, Essex, the western part of the ais is screened off for the chantry of Lord Marney, whose tomb has th chantry altar still remaining, set crosswise at the west end of the tomb in the eastern division of the aisle there is an ordinary domestic fire-plac in the north wall. There is a similar fire-place, of about the same date, Sir Thomas Bullen's church of Hever, in Kent.

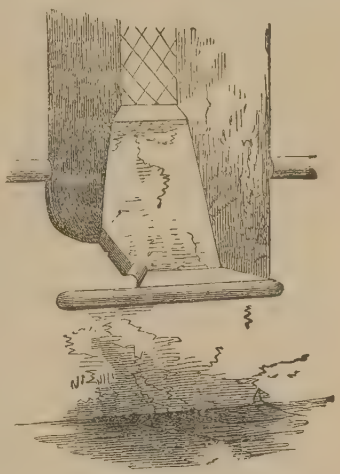
Again, we sometimes find beside the low side-windows already spoke of, an arrangement which shows that it was intended for some o

* Reports of the Lincoln Diocesan Archæological Society for 1853, pp. 359-60.

† Peter, Abbot of Clugny, tells us of a monk and priest of that abbey who had f a cell an oratory in a very high and remote steeple-tower, consecrated to the honour St. Michael the archangel. "Here, devoting himself to divine meditation night and da he mour'ed high above mortal things, and seemed with the angels to be present at t nearer vision of his Maker."

abitually to sit there. Thus, at Somerton, Oxfordshire, on the north side f the chancel, is a long and narrow window, with decorated tracery in the ead; the lower part is divided by a thick transom, and does not appear o have been glazed. In the interior the wall is recessed beside the indow, with a sort of shoulder, exactly adapted to give room for a seat, n such a position that its occupant would get the full benefit of the light hrough the glazed upper part of the little window, and would be in a onvenient position for conversing through the unglazed lower portion f it.

At Elsfield Church, Oxfordshire, there s an early English lancet window, similarly ivided by a transom, the lower part, now locked up, having been originally unlazed, and the sill of the window in the nterior has been formed into a stone seat nd desk. We reproduce here a view of he latter from the "Oxford Architectural ociety's Guide to the Neighbourhood of)xford." Perhaps in such instances as hese, the recluse may have been a priest erving a chantry altar, and licensed, erhaps, to hear confessions,* for which he seat beside the little open window ould be a convenient arrangement.



Window, Elsfield Church.

ord Scrope's will has already told us of a chaplain dwelling continully (*commoranti continuo*) in the Church of St. Nicholas, Gloucester, and f an anchorite living in the parish church of Stamford. There is a low de-window at Mawgan Church, Cornwall. In the south-east angle etween the south transept and the chancel, the inner angle at the junction f the transept and chancel walls is cut away, from the floor upwards, to the

* In the Lichfield Registers we find that, on February 10, 1409, the bishop granted to rother Richard Goldestone, late canon of Wombrugge, now recluse at Prior's Lee, near hiffenale, license to hear confessions. (History of Whalley, p. 55.)

height of six feet, and laterally about five feet in south and east direction from the angle. A short octagonal pillar, six feet high, supports all th remains of the angle of these walls, whilst the walls themselves rest on tw flat segmental arches of three feet span. A low diagonal wall is bu across the angle thus exposed, and a small lean-to roof is run up from into the external angle enclosing a triangular space within. In this wall th low side-window is inserted. The sill of the window is four feet from th pavement. Further eastward a priest's door seems to have formed part the arrangement. The west jamb of the doorway is cut away so that fro this triangular space and from the transept beyond a view is obtained the east window.

The position of the low side-windows at Grade, Cury, and Landewednac is the same as that of Mawgan, but the window itself is different in for those at Grade and at Cury being small oblong openings, the former 1 9 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., the sill only 1 ft. 9 in. from the ground; the latter is 1 by 11 in., the sill 3 ft. 4 in. from ground. At Landewednack the windo has two lights, square headed, 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., sill 4 ft. 3½ in. fro ground. A large block of serpentine rock is fixed in the ground benea the window in a position convenient for a person standing but n kneeling at the window.*

Knighton gives us some particulars of a recluse priest who lived Leicester. "There was," he says, "in those days at Leicester, a certa priest, hight William of Swynderby, whom they commonly called Willia the Hermit, because, for a long time, he had lived the hermitical life ther they received him into a certain chamber within the church, because of th holiness they believed to be in him, and they procured for him victua and a pension, after the manner of other priests." †

In the "Test. Ebor.," p. 244, we find a testator leaving "to the chant chapel of Kenby my red vestment, ... also the great missal and t great portifer, which I bought of Dominus Thomas Cope, priest a anchorite in that chapel." Blomfield also (ii. 75) tells us of a hermit, w

* Paper by J. J. Rogers, *Archæological Journal*, xi. 33.
† Twysden's "Henry de Knighton," vol. ii. p. 2665.

ved in St. Cuthbert's Church, Thetford, and performed divine service erein.

Who has not, at some time, been deeply impressed by the solemn stillss, the holy calm, of an empty church? Earthly passions, and cares, nd ambitions, seemed to have died away; one's soul was filled with spiritual peace. One stood and listened to the wind surging against e walls outside, as the waves of the sea may beat against the walls an ingulfed temple; and one felt as effectually secluded from e surge and roar of the worldly life outside the sacred walls, as if in ch a temple at the bottom of the sea. One gazed upon the monuental effigies, with their hands clasped in an endless prayer, and their assionless marble faces turned for ages heavenward, and read their ouldering epitaphs, and moralized on the royal preacher's text—"All is anity and vexation of spirit." And then one felt the disposition—and, erhaps, indulged it—to kneel before the altar, all alone with God, in that ill and solemn church, and pour out one's high-wrought thoughts before im. At such times one has probably tasted something of the transcenental charm of the life of a recluse priest. One could not sustain the nsion long. Perhaps the old recluse, with his experience and his aids, ould maintain it for a longer period. But to him, too, the natural action must have come in time; and then he had his mechanical occupaons to fall back upon—trimming the lamps before the shrines, copying s manuscript, or illuminating its initial letters; perhaps, for health's ke, he took a daily walk up and down the aisle of the church, whose alls re-echoed his measured footfalls; then he had his oft-recurring hours" to sing, and his books to read; and, to prevent the long hours hich were still left him in his little par-closed chapel from growing o wearily monotonous, there came, now and then, a tap at the shutter his "parlour" window, which heralded the visit of some poor soul, eeking counsel or comfort in his difficulties of this world or the next, some pilgrim bringing news of distant lands, or some errant knight seeking ews of adventures, or some parishioner come honestly to have a dish of ossip with the holy man, about the good and evil doings of his neighbours.

There is a pathetic anecdote in Blomfield's "Norfolk," which will show

that the spirit and tl e tradition of the old recluse priests survived th Reformation. The Rev. Mr. John Gibbs, formerly rector of Gessing, i that county, was ejected from his rectory in 1690 as a non-juror. "H was an odd but harmless man, both in life and conversation. After h ejection he dwelt in the north porch chamber, and laid on the stairs th led up to the rood-loft, between the church and chancel, having a windo at his head, so that he could lie in his couch, and see the altar. He live to be very old, and was buried at Frenze."

Let us turn again to the female recluse, in her anchor-house outside th church. How was her cell furnished? It had always a little altar at th east end, before which the recluse paid her frequent devotions, hearin besides, the daily mass in church through her window, and receiving th Holy Sacrament at stated times. Bishop Poore advises his recluses receive it only fifteen times a year. The little square unglazed windo was closed with a shutter, and a black curtain with a white cross upon also hung before the opening, through which the recluse could conver without being seen. The walls appear to have been sometimes paint —of course with devotional subjects. To complete the scene add comfortable carved oak chair, and a little table, an embroidery frame, an such like appliances for needlework; a book of prayers, and another saintly legends, not forgetting Bishop Poore's "Ancren Riewle;" a fire the hearth in cold weather, and the cat, which Bishop Poore express allows, purring beside it; and lastly paint in the recluse, in her bla habit and veil, seated in her chair; or prostrate before her little alta or on her knees beside her church window listening to the chanted mas or receiving her basket of food from her servant, through the open parlo window; or standing before its black curtain, conversing with a str knight-errant; or putting her white hand through it, to give an alms to so village crone or wandering beggar.

A few extracts from Bishop Poore's "Ancren Riewle," already seve times alluded to, will give life to the picture we have painted. Thou intended for the general use of recluses, it seems to have been specia addressed, in the first instance, to three sisters, who, in the bloom of you

orsook the world, and became the tenants of a reclusorium. It would eem that in such cases each recluse had a separate cell, and did not com- nunicate, except on rare occasions, with her fellow inmates; and each had er own separate servant to wait upon her. Here are some particulars as o their communication with the outer world. "Hold no conversation ith any man out of a church window, but respect it for the sake of the Holy Sacrament which ye see there through;* and at other times (other hiles) take your women to the window of the house (huses thurle), other en and women to the parlour-window to speak when necessary; nor ught ye (to converse) but at these two windows." Here we have three indows; we have no difficulty in understanding which was the church- indow, and the parlour-window—the window *pour parler;* but what was ne house-window, through which the recluse might speak to her servant? Vas it merely the third glazed window, through which she might, if it were onvenient, talk with her maid, but not with strangers, because she would e seen through it? or was it a window in the larger anchorholds, between ne recluse cell, and the other apartment in which her maid lived, and in hich, perhaps, guests were entertained? The latter seems the more pro- able explanation, and will receive further confirmation when we come to ne directions about the entertainment of guests. The recluse was not to ive way to the very natural temptation to put her head out of the open indow, to get sometimes a wider view of the world about her. "A eering anchoress, who is always thrusting her head outward," he compares o "an untamed bird in a cage"—poor human bird! In another place he ives a more serious exhortation on the same subject. "Is not she too orward and foolhardy who holds her head boldly forth on the open battle- ents while men with crossbow bolts without assail the castle? Surely ur foe, the warrior of hell, shoots, as I ween, more bolts at one anchoress an at seventy and seven secular ladies. The battlements of the castle re the windows of their houses; let her not look out at them, lest she

* The translator of this book for the Camden Society's edition of it, says "therein," ut the word in the original Saxon English is "ther thurgh." It refers to the window ooking into the church, through which the recluse looked down daily upon the celebra- on of the mass.

have the devil's bolts between her eyes before she even thinks of it." He are directions how to carry on her "parlements":—"First of all, when y have to go to your parlour-window, learn from your maid who it is that come; . . . . . and when you must needs go forth, go forth in the fear God to a priest, ... and sit and listen, and not cackle." They we to be on their guard even with religious men, and not even confess, exce in presence of a witness. "If any man requests to see you (*i.e.* to ha the black curtain drawn aside), ask him what good might come of it. . If any one become so mad and unreasonable that he puts forth his ha toward the window-cloth (curtain), shut the window (*i.e.* close the shutt quickly, and leave him; . . . . and as soon as any man falls into e discourse, close the window, and go away with this verse, that he may h it, 'The wicked have told me foolish tales, but not according to thy law and go forth before your altar, and say the 'Miserere.'" Again, "Ke your hands within your windows, for handling or touching between a m and an anchoress is a thing unnatural, shameful, wicked," &c.

The bishop adds a characteristic piece of detail to our picture when speaks of the fair complexions of the recluses because not sunburnt, a their white hands through not working, both set in strong relief by t black colour of the habit and veil. He says, indeed, that "since no m seeth you, nor ye see any man, ye may be content with your clothes wh or black." But in practice they seem usually to have worn black hab unless, when attached to the church of any monastery, they may ha worn the habit of the order. They were not to wear rings, brooch ornamented girdles, or gloves. "An anchoress," he says, "ought to ta sparingly (of alms), only that which is necessary (*i.e.* she ought not to ta alms to give away again). If she can spare any fragments of her fo let her send them away (to some poor person) privately out of her dwelli For the devil," he says elsewhere, "tempts anchoresses, through th charity, to collect to give to the poor, then to a friend, then to mak feast." "There are anchoresses," he says, "who make their meals w their friends without; that is too much friendship." The editor thi this to mean that some anchoresses left their cells, and went to dine at houses of their friends; but the word is *gistes* (guests), and, more probal

only means that the recluse ate her dinner in her cell while a guest ate rs in the guest-room of the reclusorium, with an open window between, that they could see and converse with one another. For we find in other place that she was to maintain "silence always at meals; . . . . . l if any one hath a guest whom she holds dear, she may cause her id, as in her stead, to entertain her friend with glad cheer, and she shall ve leave to open her window once or twice, and make signs to her of dness." But "let no *man* eat in your presence, except he be in great ed. The narrative already given at p. 109, of the visit of St. Richard the rmit to Dame Margaret the recluse of Anderby, also shows that in ceptional cases a recluse ate with men. The incident of the head of recluse, in her convulsive sleep, falling at the window at which the rmit was reclining, and leaning partly upon him,* is explained by the ory that they were sitting in separate apartments, each close by this use window, which was open between them. As we have already seen, in case of Sir Percival, a man might even sleep in the reclusorium; and so Rule says, "let no man sleep within your walls" as a general rule; "if wever, great necessity should cause your house to be used" by travellers, ee that ye have a woman of unspotted life with you day and night." As to their occupations, he advises them to make "no purses and blod- ndes of silk, but shape and sew and mend church vestments, and poor ople's clothes, and help to clothe yourselves and your domestics." "An choress must not become a school-mistress, nor turn her house into a ool for children. Her maiden may, however, teach any little girl con- ning whom it might be doubtful whether she should learn among the rs."†

Doubtless, we are right in inferring from the bishop's advice not to do tain things, that anchoresses were in the habit of doing them. From s kind of evidence we glean still further traits. He suggests to them t in confession they will perhaps have to mention such faults as these,

* "Caput suum decidit ad fenestram ad quam se reclinabit sanctus Dei Ricardus."

† In one of the stories of Reginald of Durham we learn that a school, according to a om then "common enough," was kept in the church of Norham on Tweed, the parish st being the teacher. (Wright's "Domestic Manners of the Middle Ages," p. 117.)

"I played or spoke thus in the church; went to the play in the chur yard;* looked on at this, or at the wrestling, or other foolish spor spoke thus, or played, in the presence of secular men, or of religious m in a house of anchorites, and at a different window than I ought; or, be alone in the church, I thought thus." Again he mentions, "Sitting long at the parlour-window, spilling ale, dropping crumbs." Again find, "Make no banquetings, nor encourage any strange vagabonds ab the gate." But of all their failings, gossiping seems to have been besetting sin of anchoresses. "People say of anchoresses that aln every one hath an old woman to feed her ears, a prating gossip, tells her all the tales of the land, a magpie that chatters to her of ev thing that she sees or hears; so that it is a common saying, from mill from market, from smithy and from anchor-house, men bring tidings."

Let us add the sketch drawn of them by the unfavourable hand Bilney the Reformer, in his "Reliques of Rome," published in 1563, we have done :—"As touching the monastical sect of recluses, and succ be shutte up within walls, there unto death continuall to remayne, gi themselves to the mortification of carnal effects, to the contemplation heavenly and spirituall thinges, to abstinence, to prayer, and to such c ghostly exercises, as men dead to the world, and havyng their lyfe hid with Christ, I have not to write. Forasmuch as I cannot fynde probl in any author whence the profession of anckers and anckresses had beginning and foundation, although in this behalf I have talked with of that profession which could very little or nothing say of the ma Notwithstanding, as the Whyte Fryers father that order on Helias prophet (but falsely), so likewise do the ankers and ankresses make holy and virtuous matrone Judith their patroness and foundress; but unaptly who seeth not? Their profession and religion differeth a

* These two expressions seem to imply that recluses sometimes went out of cell, not only into the church, but also into the churchyard. We have already no that the technical word "cell" seems to have included everything within the encl wall of the whole establishment. Is it possible that in the case of anchorages adjo churches, the churchyard wall represented this enclosure, and the "cell" included church and churchyard?

om the manners of Judith as light from darknesse, or God from the evill, as shall manifestly appere to them that will diligentlye conferre the istory of Judith with their life and conversation. Judith made herself a rivy chamber where she dwelt (sayth the scripture), being closed in with er maydens. Our recluses also close themselves within the walls, but ey suffer no man to be there with them. Judith ware a smoche of heare, ut our recluses are both softly and finely apparalled. Judith fasted all e days of her lyfe, few excepted. Our recluses eate and drinke at all mes of the beste, being of the number of them *qui curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.* Judith was a woman of a very good report. Our ecluses are reported to be superstitious and idolatrous persons, and such s all good men flye their company. Judith feared the Lord greatly, and ved according to His holy word. Our recluses fear the pope, and gladly oe what his pleasure is to command them. Judith lyved of her own sub-ance and goods, putting no man to charge. Our recluses, as persons nly borne to consume the good fruits of the erth, lyve idely of the labour f other men's handes. Judith, when tyme required, came out of her oset, to do good unto other. Our recluses never come out of their obbies, sincke or swimme the people. Judith put herself in jeopardy for o do good to the common countrye. Our recluses are unprofitable clods f the earth, doing good to no man. Who seeth not how farre our ankers nd ankresses differe from the manners and life of this vertuous and godly oman Judith, so that they cannot justly claime her to be their patronesse? f some idle and superstitious heremite borrowed they their idle and super-itious religion. For who knoweth not that our recluses have grates of on in theyr spelunckes, and dennes out of the which they looke, as owles ut of an yvye todde, when they will vouchsafe to speake with any man whose hand they hope for advantage? So reade we in 'Vitis Patrum,' at John the Heremite so enclosed himself in his hermitage that no erson came in unto him; to them that came to visite him he spoke rough a window onely. Our ankers and ankresses professe nothing but solitary lyfe in their hallowed house, wherein they are inclosed wyth the owe of obedience to the pope, and to their ordinary bishop. Their pparel is indifferent, so it be dissonant from the laity. No kind of meates

they are forbidden to eat. At midnight they are bound to say certa prayers. Their profession is counted to be among other professions hardye and so streight that they may by no means be suffered to come o of their houses except it be to take on them an harder and streight which is to be made a bishop."

It is not to be expected that mediæval paintings should give illustratio of persons who were thus never visible in the world. In the pictures of t hermits of the Egyptian desert, on the walls the Campo Santo at Pisa, we see a represen tion of St. Anthony holding a conversati with St. John the Hermit, who is just visi through his grated window, "like an owl an ivy tod," as Bilney says; and we ha already given a picture of Sir Percival kno ing at the door of a female recluse. Bil says, that they wore any costume, "so it w dissonant from the laity;" but in all pro bility they commonly wore a costume simi in colour to that of the male hermits. T picture which we here give of an anchore is taken from a figure of St. Paula, one the anchorite saints of the desert, in t same picture of St. Jerome, which has alrea supplied us, in the figure of St. Damas with our best picture of the hermit's c tume.

St. Paula.

The service for enclosing a recluse * may be found in some of the Service Books. We derive the following account of it from an black-letter *Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (Lond 1554), in the British Museum. The rubric before the service orders that

* A commission given by William of Wykham, Bishop of Winchester, for enclos Lucy de Newchurch as an anchoritess in the hermitage of St. Brendun, at Bristol given in Burnett's "History and Antiquities of Bristol," p. 61.

ne shall be enclosed without the bishop's leave; that the candidate shall be osely questioned as to his motives; that he shall be taught not to enter- in proud thoughts, as if he merited to be set apart from intercourse with ommon men, but rather on account of his own infirmity it was good at he should be removed from contact with others, that he might be kept ut of sin himself, and not contaminate them. So that the recluse should steem himself to be condemned for his sins, and shut up in his solitary ell as in a prison, and unworthy, for his sins, of the society of men. here is a note, that this office shall serve for both sexes. On the day efore the ceremony of inclusion, the *Includendus*—the person about to be closed—was to confess, and to fast that day on bread and water; and all at night he was to watch and pray, having his wax taper burning, in the onastery,* near his inclusorium. On the morrow, all being assembled in urch, the bishop, or priest appointed by him, first addressed an exhorta- on to the people who had come to see the ceremony, and to the inclu- endus himself, and then began the service with a response, and several propriate psalms and collects. After that, the priest put on his chasuble, nd began mass, a special prayer being introduced for the includendus. fter the reading of the gospel, the includendus stood before the altar, and fered his taper, which was to remain burning on the altar throughout the ass; and then, standing before the altar-step, he read his profession, or if e were a layman (and unable to read), one of the chorister boys read it r him. And this was the form of his profession :—"I, brother (or sister) , offer and present myself to serve the Divine Goodness in the order of nchorites, and I promise to remain, according to the rule of that order, the service of God, from henceforth, by the grace of God, and the unsel of the Church." Then he signed the document in which his ofession was written with the sign of the cross, and laid it upon the ar on bended knees. Then the bishop or priest said a prayer, and perged with holy water the habit of the includendus; and he put on the bit, and prostrated himself before the altar, and so remained, while the

* "In monasterio inclusorio suo vicino;" it seems as if the writer of the rubric were ecially thinking of the inclusoria within monasteries.

priest and choir sang over him the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and the proceeded with the mass. First the priest communicated, then the incl dendus, and then the rest of the congregation; and the mass was conclude Next his wax taper, which had all this time been burning on the altar, w given to the includendus, and a procession was formed; first the choir; th the includendus, clad in his proper habit, and carrying his lighted tape then the bishop or priest, in his mass robes; and then the people foliowin and so they proceeded, singing a solemn litany, to the cell. And first t priest entered alone into the cell, and asperged it with holy water, sayi appropriate sentences; then he consecrated and blessed the cell, with praye offered before the altar of its chapel. The third of these short praye may be transcribed: "Benedic domine domum istam et locum istum, sit in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, victoria, sanctimonia, humilit lenitas, mansuetudo, plenitudo, legis et obedientæ Deo Patre et Filio Spiritui Sancto et sit super locum istum et super omnes habitantes in tua larga benedictio, ut in his manufactis habitaculis cum solemt manentes ipsi tuum sit semper habitaculum. Per dominum," &c. Th the bishop or priest came out, and led in the includendus, still carryi his lighted taper, and solemnly blessed him. And then—a mere change the tense of the rubric has an effect which is quite pathetic; it is no lon the *includendus*, the person to be enclosed, but the *inclusus*, the enclos one, he or she upon whom the doors of the cell have closed for ever this life—then the enclosed is to maintain total and solemn sile throughout, while the doors are securely closed, the choir chanting app priate psalms. Then the celebrant causes all the people to pray for inclusus privately, in solemn silence, to God, for whose love he has left world, and caused himself to be inclosed in that strait prison. And a some concluding prayers, the procession left the inclusus to his solit life, and returned, chanting, to the church, finishing at the step of the ch

One cannot read this solemn—albeit superstitious—service, in the qua old mediæval character, out of the very book which has, perhaps, b used in the actual enclosing of some recluse, without being moved. W it some frail woman, with all the affections of her heart and the hopes her earthly life shattered, who sought the refuge of this living tomb?

some man of strong passions, wild and fierce in his crimes, as wild and erce in his penitence? or was it some enthusiast, with the over-excited eligious sensibility, of which we have instances enough in these days? Ve can see them still, in imagination, prostrate, "in total and solemn ilence," before the wax taper placed upon the altar of the little chapel, nd listening while the chant of the returning procession grows fainter and ainter in the distance. Ah! we may scornfully smile at it all as a wild super- tition, or treat it coldly as a question of mere antiquarian interest; but vhat broken hearts, what burning passions, have been shrouded under that ecluse's robe, and what wild cries of human agony have been stifled under hat "total and solemn silence!" When the processional chant had died way in the distance, and the recluse's taper had burnt out on his little ltar, was that the end of the tragedy, or only the end of the first act? Did the broken heart find repose? Did the wild spirit grow tame? Or did he one pine away and die like a flower in a dungeon, and the other beat tself to death against the bars of its self-made cage?

CHAPTER IV.

CONSECRATED WIDOWS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BESIDES all other religious people living under vows, in comm nity in monasteries, or as solitaries in their anchorages, there we also a number of Widows vowed to that life and devoted to t service of God, who lived at home in their own houses or with th families. This was manifestly a continuation, or imitation, of the primiti Order of Widows, of whom St. Paul speaks in his first Epistle to Timot (ch. v.). For although religious women, from an early period (fourth ce tury), were usually nuns, the primitive Orders of Deaconesses and Wido did not altogether cease to exist in the Church. The Service Book contain offices for their benediction; and though it is probable that in fa a deaconess was very rarely consecrated in the Western Church, yet t number of allusions to widows throughout the Middle Ages leads us suspect that there may have been no inconsiderable number of them. common form of commission† to a suffragan bishop includes the con crating of widows. From the Pontifical of Edmund Lacey, Bishop Exeter, of the fourteenth century, we give a sketch of the service.‡ It is t same in substance as those in the earlier books. First, a rubric states th though a widow may be blessed on any day, it is more fitting that she blessed on a holy day, and especially on the Lord's day. Between t

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* The Ordo Romanus. The Pontifical of Egbert. The Pontifical of Bish Lacey.

† *Guardian* newspaper, Feb. 7, 1870.

‡ Surrey Society's Transactions, vol. iii. p. 218.

Epistle and the Gospel, the bishop sitting on a faldstool facing the people, the widow kneeling before the bishop is to be interrogated if she desires, putting away all carnal affections, to be joined as a spouse to Christ. Then she shall publicly in the vulgar tongue profess herself, in the bishop's hands, resolved to observe perpetual continence. Then the bishop blesses her habit (clamidem), saying a collect. Then the bishop, genuflecting, begins the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus;* the widow puts on the habit and veil, and the bishop blesses and gives her the ring; and with a final prayer for appropriate virtues and blessings, the ordinary service of Holy Communion is resumed, special mention of the widow being made therein.

These collects are of venerable age, and have much beauty of thought and expression. The reader may be glad to see one of them as an example, and as an indication of the spirit in which people entered into these religious vows: "O God, the gracious inhabiter of chaste bodies and lover of uncorrupt souls, look we pray Thee, O Lord, upon this Thy servant, who humbly offers her devotion to Thee. May there be in her, O Lord, the gift of Thy spirit, a prudent modesty, a wise graciousness, a grave gentleness, a chaste freedom; may she be fervent in charity and love nothing beside Thee (*extra te*); may she live praiseworthy and not desire praise; may she fear Thee and serve Thee with a chaste love; be Thou to her, O Lord, honour, Thou delight; be Thou in sorrow her comfort, in doubt her counsellor; be Thou to her defence in injury, in tribulation patience, in poverty abundance, in fasting food, in sickness medicine. By Thee, whom she desires to love above all things, may she keep what she has vowed; so that by Thy help she may conquer the old enemy, and cast out the defilements of sin; that she may be decorated with the gift of fruit sixty fold,* and adorned with the lamps of all virtues, and by Thy grace may be worthy to join the company of the elect widows. This we humbly ask through Jesus Christ our Lord."

* The same collect, with a few variations, was used also in the consecration of nuns. Virgin chastity was held to bring forth fruit a hundred fold; widowed chastity, sixty fold; married chastity, thirty fold.

In a paper in the "Surrey Transactions," vol. iii. p. 208, Mr. Baigent, th writer of it, finds two, and only two, entries of the consecration of widows i the Episcopal Registers of Winchester, which go back to the early part o the reign of Edward I. The first of these is on May 4, 1348, of the Lad Aleanor Giffard, probably, says Mr. Baigent, the widow of John Giffar of Bowers Giffard, in Essex. The other entry, on October 18, 1379, is the Benediction of Isabella Burgh, the widow of a citizen of Londo (whose will is given by Mr. Baigent), and of Isabella Golafre, widow Sir John Golafre.

The profession of the widow is given in old French, and a translation it in old English, as follows: "In ye name of God, Fader and Sone an Holy Ghost. Iche Isabelle Burghe, that was sometyme wyfe of Thom Burghe, wyche that is God be taught helpynge the grace of God [th parallel French is, Quest à Dieu commande ottriaunte la grace de Die behote [promise] conversione of myn maners, and make myn avows God, and to is swete moder Seynte Marie and to alle seintz, into youre hand leve [dear] fader in God, William be ye grace of God Bisshope of Wy chestre, that fro this day forward I schal ben chaste of myn body and holy chastite kepe me treweliche and devouteliche all ye dayes of myn lif Another form of profession is written on the lower margin of the Exe Pontifical, and probably in the handwriting of Bishop Lacy: "I, I wedowe, avowe to God perpetuall chastite of my body from henceforwa and in the presence of the honorable fadyr in God, my Lord N., by t grace of God, Bishop of N., I promyth sabilly to leve in the Churchl wedowe. And this to do, of myne own hand I subscribe this writin *Et postea faciat signum crucis.*"

Another example of a widow in the Winchester registers is that Elizabeth de Julien, widow of John Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, who ma that vow to Bishop William de Edyndon, but afterwards married Eustache Dabrichecourt, September 29, 1360, whereupon proceedings w commenced against her by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who imposed her a severe and life-long penance. She survived her second husba many years, and dying in 1411, was buried in the choir of the Fri Minor at Winchester, near the tomb of her first husband.

The epitaph on the monumental brass of Joanna Braham, A.D. 1519, at Frenze, in Norfolk, describes her as "Vidua ac Deo devota."

In the Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry is a description of a lady who, if she had not actually taken the vows of widowhood, lived the life we should suppose to be that of a vowess. "It is of a good lady whiche longe tyme was in wydowhode. She was of a holy lyf, and moste humble and honourable, as the whiche every yere kepte and held a feste upon Crystemasse-day of her neyghbours bothe farre and nere, tyll her halle was ful of them. She served and honoured eche one after his degree, and specially she bare grete reverence to the good and trewe wymmen, and to them whiche has deservyd to be worshipped. Also she was of suche customme that yf she knewe any poure gentyll woman that shold be wedded she arayed her with her jewels. Also she wente to the obsequye of the poure gentyll wymmen, and gaf there torches, and all such other lumynary as it neded thereto. Her dayly ordenaunce was that she rose erly ynough, and had ever freres, and two or three chappellayns whiche sayd matyns before her within her oratorye; and after she herd a hyhe masse and two lowe, and sayd her servyse full devoutely; and after this she wente and arayed herself, and walked in her gardyn, or else aboute her plase, sayenge her other devocions and prayers. And as tyme was she wente to dyner; and after dyner, if she wyste and knewe ony seke folke or wymmen in theyr childbedde, she went to see and vysited them, and made to be brought to them of her best mete. And then, as she myght not go herself, she had a servant propyer therefore, whiche rode upon a lytell hors, and bare with him grete plente of good mete and drynke for to gyve to the poure and seke folk there as they were. And after she had herd evensonge she went to her souper, yf she fasted not. And tymely she wente to bedde; made her styward to come to her to wete what mete sholde be had the next daye, and lyved by good ordenaunce, and wold be purveyed byfore of alle such thynge that was nedefull for her household. She made grete abstynence, and wered the hayre * upon the Wednesday and upon the Fryday. . . . . And she rose

* Hair-cloth garment worn next the skin for mortification.

everye night thre tymes, and kneled downe to the ground by her bedd and redryd thankynges to God, and prayd for al Crysten soules, and dy grete almes to the poure. This good lady, that wel is worthy to l named and preysed, had to name my lady Cecyle of Ballavylle. . . . She was the most good and curtoys lady that ever I knewe or wyste i ony countrey, and that lesse was envious, and never she wold here say on evyll of no body, but excused them, and prayd to God that they mygl amende them, and that none was that knewe what to hym shold happ . . . . She had a ryhte noble ende, and as I wene ryht agreable to God ; an as men say commonely, of honest and good lyf cometh ever a good ende

In post-Reformation times there are biographies of holy women whic show that the idea of consecrated widowhood was still living in the mind of the people. Probably the dress commonly worn by widows throughou their widowhood is a remnant of the mediæval custom.

THE PILGRIMS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE fashion of going on pilgrimage seems to have sprung up in the fourth century. The first object of pilgrimage was the Holy Land. Jerome said, at the outset, the most powerful thing which can be said against it; viz., that the way to heaven is as short from Britain as from Jerusalem—a consolatory reflection to those who were obliged, or who preferred, to stay at home; but it did not succeed in quenching the zeal of those many thousands who desired to see, with their own eyes, the places which had been hallowed by the presence and the deeds of their Lord—to tread, with their own footsteps,

> "Those holy fields
> Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
> Which "eighteen" hundred years ago were nailed
> For our advantage on the bitter cross;"*

to kneel down and pray for pardon for their sins upon that very spot where the Great Sacrifice for sin was actually offered up; to stand upon the summit of Mount Olivet, and gaze up into that very pathway through the sky by which He ascended to His kingdom in Heaven.

We should, however, open up too wide a field if we were to enter into

* King Henry IV., Pt. I., Act i. Sc 1.

the subject of the early pilgrims to the Holy Land;* to trace their rou from Britain, usually *viâ* Rome, by sea and land; to describe how pilgrim passenger-traffic sprung up, of which adventurous ship-owners too advantage; how hospitals† were founded here and there along the road, give refuge to the weary pilgrims, until they reached the Hospital *p*

Thirteenth Century Pilgrims (the two Disciples at Emmaus).

excellence, which stood beside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; h Saxon kings made treaties to secure their safe conduct through fore

* There have come down to us a series of narratives of pilgrimages to the Holy La One of a Christian of Bordeaux as early as 333 A.D.; that of S. Paula and her daugh about 386 A.D., given by St. Jerome; of Bishop Arculf, 700 A.D.; of Willebald, A.D.; of Sæwulf, 1102 A.D.; of Sigurd the Crusader, 1107 A.D.; of Sir John de M deville, 1322—1356.—*Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn's Antiq. Lib.).

† At the present day, the Hospital of the Pellegrini at Rome is capable of en taining seven thousand guests, women as well as men; to be entitled to the hospitalit the institution, they must have walked at least sixty miles, and be provided with a ce ficate from a bishop or priest to the effect that they are *bonâ-fide* pilgrims. (Wi "Last Winter in Rome." Longmans: 1865.)

countries;* how the Order of the Knights of the Temple was founded to escort the caravans of pilgrims from one to another of the holy places, and protect them from marauding Saracens and Arabs; how the Crusades were organised partly, no doubt, to stem the course of Mahommedan conquest, but ostensibly to wrest the holy places from the hands of the infidel: this part of the subject of pilgrimage would occupy too much of our space here. Our design is to give a sketch of the less known portion of the subject, which relates to the pilgrimages which sprung up in after-times, when the veneration for the holy places had extended to the shrines of saints; and when, still later, veneration had run wild into the grossest superstition, and crowds of sane men and women flocked to relic-worships, which would be ludicrous if they were not so pitiable and humiliating. This part of the subject forms a chapter in the history of the manners of the Middle Ages, which is little known to any but the antiquarian student; but it is an important chapter to all who desire thoroughly to understand what were the modes of thought and habits of life of our English forefathers in the Middle Ages.

The most usual foreign pilgrimages were to the Holy Land, the scene of our Lord's earthly life; to Rome, the centre of western Christianity; and to the shrine of St. James at Compostella.†

The number of pilgrims to these places must have been comparatively limited; for a man who had any regular business or profession could not

* In the latter part of the Saxon period of our history there was a great rage for foreign pilgrimage; thousands of persons were continually coming and going between England and the principal shrines of Europe, especially the threshold of the Apostles at Rome. They were the subject of a letter from Charlemagne to King Offa:—"Concerning the strangers who, for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to the thresholds of the blessed Apostles, let them travel in peace without any trouble." Again, in the year 1031 A.D., King Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome (as other Saxon kings had done before him) and met the Emperor Conrad and other princes, from whom he obtained for all his subjects, whether merchants or pilgrims, exemptions from the heavy tolls usually exacted on the journey to Rome.

† At the marriage of our Edward I., in 1254, with Leonora, sister of Alonzo of Castile, a protection to English pilgrims was stipulated for; but they came in such numbers as to alarm the French, and difficulties were thrown in the way. In the fifteenth century, Rymer mentions 916 licences to make the pilgrimage to Santiago granted in 1428, and 2,460 in 1434.

well undertake so long an absence from home. The rich of no occupatio could afford the leisure and the cost; and the poor who chose to abando their lawful occupation could make these pilgrimages at the cost of others for the pilgrim was sure of entertainment at every hospital, or monaster or priory, probably at every parish priest's rectory and every gentleman hall,* on his way; and there were not a few poor men and women wh indulged a vagabond humour in a pilgrim's life. The poor pilgrim repai his entertainer's hospitality by bringing the news of the countries† throug which he had passed, and by amusing the household after supper wit marvellous saintly legends, and traveller's tales. He raised a little mone for his inevitable travelling expenses by retailing holy trifles and curiositie such as were sold wholesale at all the shrines frequented by pilgrims, ar which were usually supposed to have some saintly efficacy attached them. Sometimes the pilgrim would take a bolder flight, and carry wi him some fragment of a relic—a joint of a bone, or a pinch of dust, or a na paring, or a couple of hairs of the saint, or a rag of his clothing; and th people gladly paid the pilgrim for thus bringing to their doors some of th advantages of the holy shrines which he had visited. Thus Chaucer Pardoner—"That strait was comen from the Court of Rome"—

> "In his mail‡ he had a pilwebere,§
> Which as he saidé was oure Lady's veil;

* King Horn, having taken the disguise of a palmer—"Horn took bourden and scrip —went to the palace of Athulf and into the hall, and took his place among the begg "in beggar's row," and sat on the ground.—*Thirteenth Century Romance of Ki Horn* (Early English Text Society). That beggars and such persons did usually sit t the ground in the hall and wait for a share of the food, we learn also from the "Visi of Piers Ploughman," xii. 198—

> "Right as sum man gave me meat, and set me amid the floor,
> I have meat more than enough, and not so much worship
> As they that sit at side table, or with the sovereigns of the hall,
> But sit as a beggar boardless by myself on the ground."

† In the romance of King Horn, the hero meets a palmer and asks his news—

> "A palmere he there met
> And fair him grette [greeted]:
> Palmer, thou shalt me tell
> All of thine spell."

‡ Wallet. § Pillow covering.

He said he had a gobbet of the sail
Thatte St. Peter had whan that he went
Upon the sea, till Jesu Christ him hent.*
He had a cross of laton full of stones;†
And in a glass he haddé piggés bones.‡
But with these relics whanné that he fond
A poure parson dwelling upon lond,
Upon a day he gat him more monie
Than that the parson gat in monthes twele.
And thus with feined flattering and japes,
He made the parson and the people his apes."

In a subsequent chapter, on the Merchants of the Middle Ages, will be ound some illustrations of mediæval shipping, which also illustrate the resent subject. One is a representation of Sir John Mandeville and his ompanions in mantle, hat, and staff, just landed at a foreign town on heir pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Another represents Richard Beauhamp, Earl of Warwick, in mantle, hat, and staff, embarking in his own hip on his departure for a similar pilgrimage. Another illustration in the ubsequent chapter on Secular Clergy represents Earl Richard at Rome, eing presented to the Pope.

But those who could not spare time or money to go to Jerusalem, or Rome, or Compostella, could spare both for a shorter expedition; and ilgrimages to English shrines appear to have been very common. By far he most popular of our English pilgrimages was to the shrine of St. Thomas-à-Becket, at Canterbury, and it was popular not only in England, ut all over Europe. The one which stood next in popular estimation, as the pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham. But nearly every cathedral and great monastery, and many a parish church besides, had its mous saint to whom the people resorted. There was St. Cuthbert at Durham, and St. William at York, and little St. William at Norwich, and t. Hugh at Lincoln, and St. Edward Confessor at Westminster, and St. rkenwald in the cathedral of London, and St. Wulstan at Worcester, and t. Swithin at Winchester, and St. Edmund at Bury, and SS. Etheldreda

* Called or took.
† *i.e.* Latten (a kind of bronze) set with (mock) precious stones.
‡ Pretending them to be relics of some saint.

and Withburga at Ely, and many more, whose remains were esteemed relics, and whose shrines were frequented by the devout. Some cam pray at the tomb for the intercession of the saint in their behalf; seek the cure of disease by the touch of the relic; or to offer up th for deliverance believed to have been vouchsafed in time of peril thr the saint's prayers; or to obtain the number of days' pardon—*i.* remission of their time in purgatory—offered by Papal bulls to those should pray at the tomb. Then there were famous roods, the Roo Chester and of Bromholme; and statues of the Virgin, as Our Lad Wilsden, and of Boxley, and of this, that, and the other place. T were scores of holy wells besides, under saintly invocations, of which Winifred's well with her chapel over it still remains an excellent exam Some of these were springs of medicinal water, and were doubtles some efficacy in the cures for which they were noted; in others a had baptized his converts; others had simply afforded water to a sain his neighbouring cell.†

Before any man ‡ went on pilgrimage, he first went to his church, received the Church's blessing on his pious enterprise, and her prayer his good success and safe return. The office of pilgrims (*officium per norum*) may be found in the old service-books. We give a few notes from a Sarum missal, date 1554, in the British Museum. § The pilgri

* See "Archæological Journal," vol. iii. p. 149.

† Mr. Taylor, in his edition of "Blomfield's Norfolk," enumerates no less than se places of pilgrimage in Norfolk alone.

‡ A man might not go without his wife's consent, nor a wife without her husband

> "To preche them also thou might not wonde [fear, hesitate],
> Both to wyf and eke husbande,
> That nowther of hem no penance take,
> Ny non a vow to chastity make,
> Ny no pylgrimage take to do
> But if bothe assente thereto.
> * * * * *
> Save the vow to Jherusalem,
> That is lawful to ether of them."
>
> *Instructions for Parish Priests.* (E
> English Text Society.)

§ Marked 3.395 d. 4to. The footnote on a previous page (p. 158) leads us to conj

reviously to have confessed. At the opening of the service he lies pros-rate before the altar, while the priest and choir sing over him certain ppropriate psalms, viz. the 24th, 50th, and 90th. Then follow some ersicles, and three collects, for safety, &c., in which the pilgrim is men-oned by name, "thy servant, N." Then he rises, and there follows the enediction of his scrip and staff; and the priest sprinkles the scrip with oly water, and places it on the neck of the pilgrim, saying, "In the name f, &c., take this scrip, the habit of your pilgrimage, that, corrected and aved, you may be worthy to reach the thresholds of the saints to which ou desire to go, and, your journey done, ay return to us in safety." Then the priest elivers the staff, saying, "Take this staff, ne support of your journey, and of the bour of your pilgrimage, that you may be ble to conquer all the bands of the enemy, nd to come safely to the threshold of the aints to which you desire to go, and, your ourney obediently performed, return to us ith joy." If any one of the pilgrims pre-ent is going to Jerusalem, he is to bring habit signed with the cross, and the priest lesses it:—". . . . we pray that Thou ilt vouchsafe to bless this cross, that the anner of the sacred cross, whose figure is gned upon him, may be to Thy servant n invincible strength against the evil emptations of the old enemy, a defence by the way, a protection in hy house, and may be to us everywhere a guard, through our Lord, c." Then he sprinkles the habit with holy water, and gives it to the ilgrim, saying, "Take this habit, signed with the cross of the Lord our aviour, that by it you may come safely to his sepulchre, who, with the

Lydgate's Pilgrim.

hat in ancient as in modern times the pilgrim may have received a certificate of his having een blessed as a pilgrim, as now we give certificates of baptism, marriage, and holy rders.

Father," &c. Then follows mass; and after mass, certain prayers c the pilgrims, prostrate at the altar; then, "let them communicate, so depart in the name of the Lord." The service runs in the plura if there were usually a number of pilgrims to be dispatched together.

There was a certain costume appropriate to the pilgrim, which writers speak of under the title of pilgrims' weeds; the illustration this paper will give examples of it. It consisted of a robe and ha staff and scrip. The robe called *sclavina* by Du Cange, and other wri is said to have been always of wool, and sometimes of shaggy s like that represented in the accompanying woodcut of the latter of the fourteenth century, from the Harleian MS., 4,826. It se intended to represent St. John Baptist's robe of camel's hair. Its co does not appear in the illuminations, but old writers speak of it as g The hat seems to be commonly a round hat, of felt, and, apparently, c not differ from the hats which travellers not uncommonly wore over t hoods in those days.*

The pilgrim who was sent on pilgrimage as a penance seems usuall have been ordered to go barefoot, and probably many others volunta inflicted this hardship upon themselves in order to heighten the merit efficacy of their good deed. They often also made a vow not to the hair or beard until the pilgrimage had been accomplished. But special insignia of a pilgrim were the staff and scrip. In the relig service with which the pilgrims initiated their journey, we have seen the staff and scrip are the only insignia mentioned, except in the of one going to the Holy Land, who has a robe signed with the cr the staff and the scrip were specially blessed by the priest, and the pil formally invested with them by his hands.

The staff, or bourdon, was not of an invariable shape. On a fourtee century grave-stone at Haltwhistle, Northumberland, it is like a rather walking-stick, with a natural knob at the top. In the cut from Erasm "Praise of Folly," which forms the frontispiece of Mr. Nichols's ' grimages of Canterbury and Walsingham," it is a similar walking-st

* See woodcut on p. 90.

t, usually, it was a long staff, some five, six, or seven feet long, turned in e lathe, with a knob at the top, and another about a foot lower down. metimes a little below the lower knob there is a hook, or a staple, to ich we occasionally find a water-bottle or a small bundle attached. The ok is seen on the staff of Lydgate's pilgrim (p. 163). Sir John Hawkins lls us * that the staff was sometimes hollowed out into a kind of flute, which the pilgrim could play. The same kind of staff we find illuminated MSS. in the hands of beggars and shepherds, as well as lgrims.

The scrip was a small bag, slung at the side by a cord over the shoulder, contain the pilgrim's food and his few necessaries.† Sometimes it was ade of leather; but probably the material varied according to the taste and ealth of the pilgrim. We find it of different shape and size in different examples. the monumental effigy of a pilgrim of nk at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, the scrip is ther long, widest at bottom, and is ornaented with three tassels at the bottom, mething like the bag in which the Lord hancellor carries the great seal, and it as scallop shells fixed upon its front. the grave-stone of a knight at Haltchistle, already alluded to, the knight's rms, sculptured upon the shield on one de of his grave cross, are a *fess* beveen three *garbs* (*i.e.* wheat-sheaves); nd a *garb* is represented upon his scrip, which is square and otherwise ain. The tomb of Abbot Chillenham, at Tewkesbury, has the pilgrim's aff and scrip sculptured upon it as an architectural ornament; the scrip is

Pilgrim, from Erasmus's "Praise of Folly."

* "History of Music."

† "Conscience then with Patience passed, Pilgrims as it were,
Then had Patience, as pilgrims have, in his poke vittailes."
Piers Ploughman's Vision, xiii. 215.

like the mediæval purse, with a scallop shell on the front of it, very
that on p. 163.* The pilgrim is sometimes represented with a bo
often with a rosary, and sometimes with other conveniences for travel
or helps to devotion. There is a very good example in Hans Burgma
"Images de Saints, &c., of the Familly of the Emp. Maximilian I." fol.

But though the conventional pilgrim is always represented with r
and hat, and staff, and scrip, the actual pilgrim seems sometimes to l
dispensed with some, if not with all, of these insignia. For exam
Chaucer minutely describes the costume of the principal personages in
company of Canterbury Pilgrims, and he not only does not describe v
would have been so marked and picturesque features in their appeara
but his description seems to preclude the pilgrim's robe and hat.
knight is described in the ordinary jupon,

"Of fustian he wered a jupon."

And the squire—

"Short was his gowne with sleves long and wide."

And the yeoman—

"Was clad in cote and hood of green."

And the serjeant of the law—

"Rode but homely in a medlee cote,
Girt with a seint † of silk with barres small."

The merchant was in motley—

"And on his hed a Flaundrish bever hat."

And so with all the rest, they are clearly described in the ordinary d
of their class, which the pilgrim's robe would have concealed. It se
very doubtful whether they even bore the especial insignia of staff
scrip. Perhaps when men and women went their pilgrimage on horseb
they did not go through the mere form of carrying a long walking-s
The equestrian pilgrim, of whom we shall give a woodcut herea
though he is very correctly habited in robe and hat, with pilgrim s
on each, and his rosary round his neck, does not carry the bour
The only trace of pilgrim costume about Chaucer's Pilgrims, is in
Pardoner—

* Grose's "Gloucestershire," pl. lvii. † Girdle.

"A vernicle hadde he sewed in his cappe"—

but that was a sign of a former pilgrimage to Rome; and it is enough to prove—if proof were needed—that Chaucer did not forget to clothe his personages in pilgrim weeds, but that they did not wear them.

But besides the ordinary insignia of pilgrimage, every pilgrimage had its special signs, which the pilgrim on his return wore conspicuously upon his hat or his scrip, or hanging round his neck, in token that he had accomplished that particular pilgrimage. The pilgrim who had made a long pilgrimage, paying his devotions at every shrine in his way, might come back as thickly decorated with signs as a modern soldier, who has been through a stirring campaign, with medals and clasps.

The pilgrim to the Holy Land had this distinction above all others, that he wore a special sign from the very hour that he took the vow upon him to make that most honourable pilgrimage. This sign was a cross, formed of two strips of coloured cloth sewn upon the shoulder of the robe; the English pilgrim wore the cross of white, the French of red, the Flemish of green. Some, in their fierce earnestness, had the sacred sign cut into their flesh; in the romance of "Sir Isumbras," we read—

"With a sharpe knyfe he share
A cross upon his shoulder bare."

Others had it branded upon them with a hot iron; one pilgrim in the 'Mirac. de S. Thomæ" of Abbot Benedict gives the obvious reason, that though his clothes should be torn away, no one should be able to tear the cross from his breast. At the end of the *Officium peregrinorum*, which we have described, we find a rubric calling attention to the fact, that burning the cross in the flesh is forbidden by the canon law on pain of the greater excommunication; the prohibition is proof enough that at one time it was a not uncommon practice. But when the pilgrim reached the Holy Land, and had visited the usual round of the holy places, he became entitled to wear the palm in token of his accomplishment of that great pilgrimage; and from this badge he derived the name of Palmer. How the palm was borne does not quite certainly appear; some say that it was a branch of palm, which the returning pilgrim bore in his hand or affixed

to the top of his staff;* but probably in the general case it was in shape of sprigs of palm sewn crosswise upon the hat and scrip.

The Roman pilgrimage seems always to have ranked next in popu estimation to that of the Holy Land;† and with reason, for Rome was th the great centre of the religion and the civilization of Western Chr endom. The plenary indulgence which Boniface VIII. published in 13 to all who should make the Jubilee pilgrimage to Rome, no doubt had effect in popularizing this pilgrimage *ad limina apostolorum*. Two hund thousand pilgrims, it is said, visited Rome in one month during the f Jubilee; and succeeding popes shortened the interval between these gr spiritual fairs, first to fifty, then to thirty-three, and lastly to twenty-f years. The pilgrim to Rome doubtless visited many shrines in that gr Christian capital, and was entitled to wear as many signs; but the ch signs of the Roman pilgrimage were a badge with the effigies of St. Pe and St. Paul, the cross-keys, and the vernicle. Concerning the fi there is a grant from Innocent III. to the arch-priest and canons of Peter's at Rome,‡ which confirms to them (or to those to whom they sh concede it) the right to cast and to sell the lead or pewter signs, beari the effigies of the Apostles Peter and Paul, with which those who ha visited their threshold decorate themselves for the increase of their de tion and a testimony of their pilgrimage. Dr. Rock says§ "that a frie of his has one of these Roman pilgrim signs, which was dug up at Laun Abbey, Leicestershire. It is of copper, in the shape of a quatrefoil, and three-quarter inches in diameter, and has the cross-keys on one si the other side being plain. An equestrian pilgrim represented in H Burgmaier's "Der Weise Kœnige," seems to bear on his cloak and his the cross-keys. The vernicle was the kerchief of Veronica, with whi

* One of the two pilgrims in our first cut, p. 158, carries a palm branch in his ha they represent the two disciples at Emmaus, who were returning from Jerusalem.

† The existence of several accounts of the stations of Rome in English p and poetry as early as the thirteenth century (published by the Early English T Society), indicates the popularity of this pilgrimage.

‡ Innocente III., Epist. 536, lib. i., t. c., p. 305, ed. Baluzio. (Dr. Rock's "Chu of our Fathers.")

§ "Church of our Fathers," vol. iii. p. 438, note.

said a very popular legend, she wiped the brow of the Saviour, when he fainted under His cross in the Via Dolorosa, and which was found to have had miraculously transferred to it an imprint of the sacred countenance. Chaucer's Pardoner, as we have already seen—

> "Strait was comen from the Court of Rome,"

and, therefore,

> "A vernicle had he sewed upon his cap."

The sign of the Compostella pilgrimage was the scallop shell.* The legend which the old Spanish writers give in explanation of the badge is this:—When the body of the saint was being miraculously conveyed in a ship without sails or oars, from Joppa to Galicia, it passed the village of Bonzas, on the coast of Portugal, on the day that a marriage had been celebrated there. The bridegroom with his friends were amusing themselves on horseback on the sands, when his horse became unmanageable and plunged into the sea; whereupon the miraculous ship stopped in its voyage, and presently the bridegroom emerged, horse and man, close beside it. A conversation ensued between the knight and the saint's disciples on board, in which they apprised him that it was the saint who had saved him from a watery grave, and explained the Christian religion to him. He believed, and was baptized there and then. And immediately the ship resumed its voyage, and the knight came galloping back over the sea to rejoin his astonished friends. He told them all that had happened, and they too were converted, and the knight baptized his bride with his own hand. Now, when the knight emerged from the sea, both his dress and the trappings of his horse were covered with scallop shells; and, therefore, the Galicians took the scallop shell as the sign of St. James. The legend is found represented in churches dedicated to St. James, and in ancient illuminated MSS.† The scallop shell is not unfrequently found in armorial bearings. It is hardly probable that it would be given to a

* It is seen on the scrip of Lydgate's Pilgrim in the woodcut on p. 163. See a paper on the Pilgrim's Shell, by Mr. J. E. Tennant, in the *St. James's Magazine*, No. 10, for Jan., 1862.

† "Anales de Galicia," vol. i. p. 95. Southey's "Pilgrim to Compostella."

man merely because he had made the common pilgrimage to Compostell perhaps it was earned by service under the banner of Santiago, against t Moors in the Spanish crusades. The Popes Alexander III., Gregory IX and Clement V., granted a faculty to the Archbishops of Compostella, excommunicate those who sell these shells to pilgrims anywhere except the city of Santiago, and they assign this reason, because the shells a the badge of the Apostle Santiago.* The badge was not always an actu shell, but sometimes a jewel made in the shape of a scallop shell. In t "Journal of the Archæological Association," iii. 126, is a woodcut of scallop shell of silver gilt, with a circular piece of jet set in the middle, which is carved an equestrian figure of Santiago.

The chief sign of the Canterbury pilgrimage was an ampul (*ampulla* flask); we are told all about its origin and meaning by Abbot Benedi who wrote a book on the miracles of St. Thomas.† The monks h carefully collected from the pavement the blood of the martyr which h been shed upon it, and preserved it as one of the precious relics. A s lady who visited the shrine, begged for a drop of this blood as a medicin it worked a miraculous cure, and the fame of the miracle spread far a wide, and future pilgrims were not satisfied unless they too might be p mitted the same high privilege. A drop of it used to be mixed with chalice full of water, that the colour and flavour might not offend senses, and they were allowed to taste of it. It wrought, says the abb miraculous cures; and so, not only vast crowds came to take this stra and unheard-of medicine, but those who came were anxious to take sc of it home for their sick friends and neighbours. At first they put it i wooden vessels, but these were split by the liquid; and many of the fr ments of these vessels were hung up about the martyr's tomb in token this wonder. At last it came into the head of a certain young man to c little flasks—*ampullæ*—of lead and pewter. And then the miracle of breaking ceased, and they knew that it was the Divine will that the Can bury medicine should be carried in these ampullæ throughout the wo

* "Anales de Galicia," vol. i. p. 96, quoted by Southey, "Pilgrim to Compostel
† Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," iii. 424.

and that these ampullæ should be recognised by all the world as the sign of this pilgrimage and these wonderful cures. At first the pilgrims had carried the wooden vases concealed under their clothes; but these ampullæ were carried suspended round the neck; and when the pilgrims reached home, says another authority,* they hung these ampullæ in their churches for sacred relics, that the glory of the blessed martyr might be known throughout the world. Some of these curious relics still exist. They are thin, flat on one side, and slightly rounded on the other, with two little

The Canterbury Ampulla.

ears or loops through which a cord might be passed to suspend them. The mouth might have been closed by solder, or even by folding over the edges of the metal. There is a little flask figured in Gardner's "History of Dunwich," pl. iii., which has a T upon the side of it, and which may very probably have been one of these ampullæ. But one of a much more elaborate and interesting type is here engraved, from an example preserved in the museum at York. The principal figure is a somewhat stern repre-

* "Vita S. Thomæ apud Willebald," folio Stephani, ed. Giles, i. 312.

sentation of the blessed archbishop; above is a rude representation of t shrine; and round the margin is the rhyming legend—"Optimus egrorun Medicus fit Thoma bonorum" ("Thomas is the best physician for the pic sick"). On the reverse of the ampul is a design whose intention is n very clear; two monks or priests are apparently saying some service out a book, and one of them is laying down a pastoral staff; perhaps it repr sents the shrine with its attendants. From the style of art, this desi may be of the early part of the thirteenth century. But though t ampul is clearly designated by the monkish writers, whom we have quote as the special sign of the Canterbury pilgrimage, there was another si which seems to have been peculiar to it, and that is a bell. Whether the bells were hand-bells, which the pilgrims carried in their hands, and ra from time to time, or whether they were little bells, like hawks' be fastened to their dress—as such bells sometimes were to a canon's cope does not certainly appear. W. Thorpe, in the passage hereafter quoted l length from Fox, speaks of "the noise of their singing and the sound their piping, and the jangling of their Canterbury bells," as a body pilgrims passed through a town. One of the prettiest of our wild-flowe the *Campanula rotundifolia*, which has clusters of blue, bell-like flowe has obtained the common name of Canterbury Bells.* There were oth religious trinkets also sold and used by pilgrims as mementoes of th visit to the famous shrine. The most common of them seems to ha been the head of St. Thomas,† cast in various ornamental devices, silver or pewter; sometimes it was adapted to hang to a rosary,‡ mo usually, in the examples which remain to us, it was made into a brooch be fastened upon the cap or hood, or dress. In Mr. C. R. Smit "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. i. pl. 31, 32, 33, and vol. ii. pl. 16, 17, there are representations of no less than fifty-one English and fore

* The lily of the valley was another Canterbury flower. It is still plentiful in gardens in the precincts of the cathedral.

† The veneration of the times was concentrated upon the blessed head which suffe the stroke of martyrdom; it was exhibited at the shrine and kissed by the pilgrims; th was an abbey in Derbyshire dedicated to the Beauchef (beautiful head), and still ca Beauchief Abbey.

‡ The late T. Caldecot, Esq., of Dartford, possessed one of these.

pilgrims' signs, of which a considerable proportion are heads of St. Thomas. The whole collection is very curious and interesting.*

The ampul was not confined to St. Thomas of Canterbury. When his ampuls became so very popular, the guardians of the other famous shrines adopted it, and manufactured "waters," "aquæ reliquiarum," of their own. The relic of the saint, which they were so fortunate as to possess, was washed with or dipped in holy water, which was thereupon supposed to possess—diluted—the virtues of the relic itself. Thus there was a "Durham water," being the water in which the incorruptible body of St. Cuthbert had been washed at its last exposure; and Reginald of Durham, in his book on the admirable virtues of the blessed Cuthbert,† tells us how it used to be carried away in ampuls, and mentions a special example in which a little of this pleasant medicine poured into the mouth of a sick man, cured him on the spot. The same old writer tells us how the water held in a bowl that once belonged to Editha, queen and saint, in which a little bit of rag, which had once formed part of St. Cuthbert's garments, was soaked, acquired from these two relics so much virtue that it brought back health and strength to a dying clerk who drank it. In Gardner's "History of Dunwich" (pl. iii.) we find drawings of ampullæ like those of St. Thomas, one of which has upon its front a W surmounted by a crown, which it is conjectured may be the pilgrim sign of Our Lady of Walsingham, and contained, perhaps, water from the holy wells at Walsingham, hereinafter described. Another has an R surmounted by one of the symbols of the Blessed Virgin, a lily in a pot; the author hazards a conjecture that it may be the sign of St. Richard of Chichester. The pilgrim who brought away one of these flasks of medicine, or one of these blessed relics, we may suppose, did not always hang it up in church as an *ex voto*, but sometimes preserved it carefully in his house for use in time of sickness, and would often be applied to by a sick neighbour for the gift of a portion of the precious fluid out of his ampul, or for a touch of the trinket which had touched the saint. In the "Collectanea Antiqua," is a

* A very beautiful little pilgrim sign of lead found at Winchester is engraved in the "Journal of the British Archæological Association," No. 32, p. 363.

† Dr. Rock's "Church of our Fathers," vol. iii. p. 430.

facsimile of a piece of paper bearing a rude woodcut of the adorat of the Magi, and an inscription setting forth that "Ces billets ont tou aux troi testes de saints Rois a Cologne: ils sont pour les voyage contre les malheurs des chemins, maux de teste, mal caduque, fièu sorcellerie, toute sorte de malefice, et morte soubite." It was found u the person of one William Jackson, who having been sentenced for mur in June, 1748-9, was found dead in prison a few hours before the time his execution. It was the charmed billet, doubtless, which preserved h from the more ignominious death.

We find a description of a pilgrim in full costume, and decorated w signs, in "Piers Ploughman's Vision." He was apparelled—

"In pilgrym's wise.
He bare a burdoun* y-bounde with a broad list,
In a withwinde-wise y-wounden about;
A bolle† and a bagge he bare by his side,
An hundred of ampulles; on his hat seten
Signes of Synay‡ and shells of Galioe,§
And many a crouche‖ on his cloke and keys of Rome,
And the vernicle before, for men sholde knowe,
And se bi his signes, whom he sought hadde.
These folk prayed¶ hym first fro whence he came?
'From Synay,' he seide, 'and from our Lordes Sepulcre:
In Bethlem and in Babiloyne I have ben in bothe;
In Armonye** and Alesaundre, in many other places.

* Fosbroke has fallen into the error of calling this a burden bound to the pilgr back with a list: it is the bourdon, the pilgrim's staff, round which a list, a long na strip of cloth, was wound cross-wise. We do not elsewhere meet with this list round staff, and it does not appear what was its use or meaning. We may call to mind the wound cross-wise round a barber's pole, and imagine that this list was attached to pilgrim's staff for use, or we may remember that a vexillum, or banner, is attached bishop's staff, and that a long, narrow riband is often affixed to the cross-headed which is placed in our Saviour's hand in mediæval representations of the Resurrect The staff in our cut, p. 163, looks as if it might have such a list wound round it.

† Fosbrooke, and Wright, and Dr. Rock, all understand this to be a bowl. Was bottle to carry drink, shaped something like a gourd, such as we not unfrequently hung on the hook of a shepherd's staff in pictures of the annunciation to the shephe and such as the pilgrim from Erasmus's "Praise of Folly," bears on his back?

‡ Sinai. § Galice—Compostella in Galicia. ‖ Cross.

¶ Asked: people ask him first of all from whence he is come.

** Armenia.

Ye may se by my signes, that sitten in my hat,
That I have walked ful wide in weet and in drye,
And sought good seintes for my soules helthe.'"

The little bit of satire, for the sake of which this model pilgrim is introduced, is too telling—especially after the wretched superstitions which we have been noticing—to be omitted here. "Knowest thou?" asks the Ploughman—

"'Kondest thou aught a cor-saint* that men calle Truthe?
Canst thou aught weten† us the way where that wight dwelleth?

"Nay," replies the much-travelled pilgrim—

"'Nay, so me God helpe,
I saw nevere palmere with pyke and with scrippe
Ask after hym, ever til now in this place.'"

* Holy body, object of pilgrimage. † Tell us.

CHAPTER II.

OUR LADY OF WALSINGHAM AND ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

WE shall not wonder that these various pilgrimages were so pop as they were, when we learn that there were not only phys panaceas to be obtained, and spiritual pardons and immuni to be procured at the shrines of the saints, but that moreover the jour to them was often made a very pleasant holiday excursion.

Far be it from us to deny that there was many a pilgrim who undert his pilgrimage in anything but a holiday spirit, and who made it anyth but a gay excursion; many a man who sought, howbeit mistakenly atone for wrong done, by making himself an outcast upon earth, and mitting to the privations of mendicant pilgrimage; many a one who sou thus to escape out of reach of the stings of remorse; many a one who himself from home and the knowledge of friends, and went to for countries to hide his shame from the eyes of those who knew him. Certai here and there, might have been met a man or a woman, whose co sackcloth robe, girded to the naked skin, and unshod feet, were sign real if mistaken penitence; and who carried grievous memories and a heart through every mile of his weary way. We give here, from H Burgmaier's "Images de Saints, &c., de la Famille de l'Empereur M milian I.," a very excellent illustration of a pilgrim of this class. But was not the general character of the home pilgrimages of which we especially speaking. In the great majority of cases they seem to l been little more than a pleasant religious holiday.* No doubt the ger

* The Knight of La Tour Landry, in one of his stories, tells us: "There was a y lady that had her herte moche on the worlde. And there was a squier that loved he

ntention was devotional; very likely it was often in a moment of religious ervour that the vow was taken; the religious ceremony with which the ourney was begun, must have had a solemnising effect; and doubtless hen the pilgrim knelt at the shrine, an unquestioning faith in all the tales hich he had heard of its sanctity and occasional miraculous power, and he imposing effect of the scene, would affect his mind with an unusual eligious warmth and exaltation. But between he beginning and the end of the pilgrimage here was a long interval, which we say—ot in a censorious spirit—was usually occuied by a very pleasant excursion. The same ine work which has supplied us with so exellent an illustration of an ascetic pilgrim, ffords another equally valuable companionicture of a pilgrim of the more usual class. He travels on foot, indeed, staff in hand, ut he is comfortably shod and clad; and hile the one girds his sackcloth shirt to his are body with an iron chain, the other has is belt well furnished with little conveniences of travel. It is quite clear that the ourney was not necessarily on foot, the oluntary pilgrims might ride if they preferred .* Nor did they beg their bread as penitial pilgrims did; but put good store of

Pilgrim in Hair Shirt and Cloak.

e hym. And for because that she might have better leiser to speke with hym, she made er husbande to understande that she had vowed in diverse pilgrimages; and her husband, s he that thought none evelle and wolde not displese her, suffered and held hym content at she should go wherin her lust. . . . . Alle thei that gone on pilgrimage to place for foul plesaunce more than devocion of the place that thei go to, and covereth aire goinge with service of God, fowlethe and scornethe God and our Ladie, and the lace that thei goo to."—*Book of La Tour Landry*, chap. xxxiv.

* "I was a poor pilgrim," says one ("History of the Troubadours," p. 300), "when came to your court; and have lived honestly and respectably in it on the wages you ave given me; restore to me my mule, my wallet, and my staff, and I will return in the me manner as I came."

money in their purse at starting, and ambled easily along the green roa and lived well at the comfortable inns along their way.

In many instances when the time of pilgrimage is mentioned, we f that it was the spring; Chaucer's pilgrims started—

> "When that April with his showerés sote
> The drouth of March had perced to the root;"

and Fosbroke "apprehends that Lent was the usual time for these grimages."

It was the custom for the pilgrims to associate in companies; inde since they travelled the same roads, about the same time of year, stopped at the same inns and hospitals, it was inevitable; and they se to have taken pains to make the journey agreeable to one anoti Chaucer's "hoste of the Tabard" says to his guests:—

> "Ye go to Canterbury: God you speed,
> The blisful martyr quité you your mede;
> And well I wot, as ye go by the way,
> Ye shapen you to talken and to play;
> For trewely comfort and worthe is none,
> To riden by the way dumb as a stone."

Even the poor penitential pilgrim who travelled barefoot did not travel, the way at least, on the hard and rough highway. Special roads seem have been made to the great shrines. Thus the "Pilgrim's Road" r still be traced across Kent, almost from London to Canterbury; and the Londoner wishes for a pleasant and interesting home excursion, may put a scrip on his back, and take a bourdon in his hand, and mak summer's pilgrimage on the track of Chaucer's pilgrims. The pilgri road to Walsingham is still known as the "Palmer's Way" and the "W singham Green Way." It may be traced along the principal part of course for sixty miles in the diocese of Norwich. The common peo used to call the Milky Way the Walsingham Way.

Dr. Rock tells us* that "besides its badge, each pilgrimage had also gathering cry, which the pilgrims shouted out as, at the grey of morn, t

* "Church of our Fathers," vol. iii. p. 442.

slowly crept through the town or hamlet where they had slept that night." By calling aloud upon God for help, and begging the intercession of that saint to whose shrine they were wending, they bade all their fellow pilgrims to come forth upon their road and begin another day's march.*

After having said their prayers and told their beads, occasionally did they strive to shorten the weary length of the way by song and music. As often as a crowd of pilgrims started together from one place, they seem always to have hired a few singers and one or two musicians to go with them. Just before reaching any town, they drew themselves up into a line, and thus walked through its streets in procession, singing and ringing their little hand-bells, with a player on the bagpipes at their head. They ought in strictness, perhaps, to have been psalms which they sung, and the tales with which they were accustomed to lighten the way ought to have been saintly legends and godly discourses; but in truth they were of very varied character, according to the character of the individual pilgrims. The songs were often love-songs; and though Chaucer's poor parson of a town preached a sermon and was listened to, yet the romances of chivalry or the loose faiblieux which were current probably formed the majority of the real "Canterbury tales." In Foxe's "Acts and Monuments," we have a very graphic and amusing little sketch of a company of pilgrims passing through a town :—

W. Thorpe tells Archbishop Arundel, "When diverse men and women will go thus after their own willes, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will order with them before to have with them both men and women that can well synge wanton songs; and some other pilgrims will have with them bagge-pipes, so that every towne they come throwe, what with the noyse of their singing and with the sound of their pipyng, and with the jingling of their Canterbury belles, and with barking out of dogges after them, that they make more noise than if the kinge came there awaye with all his clarions, and many other minstrelles. And if these men and women be a moneth on their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after

* Thus Pope Calixtus tells us ("Sermones Bib. Pat.," ed. Bignio, xv. 330) that the pilgrims to Santiago were accustomed before dawn, at the top of each town, to cry with loud voice, "Deus Adjuva!" "Sancte Jacobe!" "God Help!" "Santiago!"

great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars." The archbishop defends the fashi and gives us further information on the subject, saying "that pilgrer have with them both syngers and also pipers, that when one of them t goeth barefoote striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, maketh him to blede, it is well done that he or his fellow begyn tha songe, or else take out of his bosom a bagge-pipe, for to drive away such myrthe the hurte of his fellow; for with soche solace the travell weriness of pylgremes is lightly and merily broughte forth."

Erasmus's colloquy entitled "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo," enables to accompany the pilgrim to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, to join him in his devotions at the shrine. We shall throw together most interesting portions of the narrative from Mr. J. G. Nichols's tran tion of it. "It is," he says, "the most celebrated place throughout England,* nor could you easily find in that island the man who vent to reckon on prosperity unless he yearly salute her with some small o ing according to his ability." "The town of Walsingham," he says, maintained by scarcely anything else but the number of its visitors." shrine of Our Lady was not within the priory church; but on the n side was the wooden chapel dedicated to "Our Lady," about twenty-t feet by thirteen, enclosed within a chapel of stone forty-eight feet thirty, which Erasmus describes as unfinished. On the west of the ch was another wooden building, in which were two holy wells also dedic to the Virgin. Erasmus describes these "holy places." "Within church, which I have called unfinished, is a small chapel made of wains and admitting the devotees on each side by a narrow little door. light is small, indeed scarcely any but from the wax lights. A most gra fragrance meets the nostrils. When you look in, you would say it the mansion of the saints, so much does it glitter on all sides with jew gold, and silver. In the inner chapel one canon attends to receive take charge of the offerings," which the pilgrims placed upon the a "To the east of this is a chapel full of wonders. Thither I go. Ano guide receives me. There we worshipped for a short time. Presently

* Surely he should have excepted St. Thomas's shrine?

joint of a man's finger is exhibited to us, the largest of three; I kiss it; and then I ask whose relics were these? He says, St. Peter's. The Apostle? I ask. He said, Yes. Then observing the size of the joint, which might have been that of a giant, I remarked, Peter must have been a man of very large size. At this, one of my companions burst into a laugh; which I certainly took ill, for if he had been quiet the attendant would have shown us all the relics. However, we pacified him by offering a few pence. Before the chapel was a shed, which they say was suddenly, in the winter season, when everything was covered with snow, brought thither from a great distance. Under this shed are two wells full to the brink; they say the spring is sacred to the Holy Virgin. The water is wonderfully cold, and efficacious in curing the pains of the head and stomach. We next turned towards the heavenly milk of the Blessed Virgin" (kept apparently in another chapel); "that milk is kept on the high-altar; in the centre of which is Christ; at his right hand for honour's sake, his mother; for the milk personifies the mother. As soon as the canon in attendance saw us, he rose, put on his surplice, added the stole to his neck, prostrated himself with due ceremony, and worshipped; anon he stretched forth the thrice-holy milk to be kissed by us. On this, we also, on the lowest step of the altar, religiously fell prostrate; and having first called upon Christ, we addressed the Virgin with a little prayer like this, which I had prepared for the purpose. . . . .

"'A very pious prayer; what reply did she make?'

"Each appeared to assent, if my eyes were not deceived. For the holy milk seemed to leap a little, and the Eucharist shone somewhat brighter. Meanwhile the ministering canon approached us, saying nothing, but holding out a little box, such as are presented by the toll collectors on the bridges in Germany. I gave a few pence, which he offered to the Virgin."

The visitor on this occasion being a distinguished person, and performing a trifling service for the canons, was presented by the sub-prior with a relic. "He then drew from a bag a fragment of wood, cut from a beam on which the Virgin Mother had been seen to rest. A wonderful fragrance at once proved it to be a thing extremely sacred. For my part, having received so distinguished a present, prostrate and with uncovered head, I kissed it

three or four times with the highest veneration, and placed it in my pu
I would not exchange that fragment, small as it is, for all the gold
the Tagus. I will enclose it in gold, but so that it may shine thro
crystal."

He is also shown some relics not shown to ordinary visitors. "Sev
wax candles are lighted, and a small image is produced, neither excel
in material nor workmanship; but in virtue most efficacious. He t
exhibited the golden and silver statues. 'This one,' says he, 'is enti
of gold; this is silver gilt; he added the weight of each, its value, and
name of the donor.* Then he drew forth from the altar itself, a worl

* In the *Guardian* newspaper of Sept. 5, 1860, a visitor to Rome gives a
scription of the exhibition of relics there, which forms an interesting parallel with
account in the text: "Shortly before Ash-Wednesday a public notice ('Invito Sa
is issued by authority, setting forth that inasmuch as certain of the principal relics
'sacra immagini' are to be exposed during the ensuing season of Lent, in certain chu
specified, the confraternities of Rome are exhorted by the pope to resort in processi
those churches. . . . . The ceremony is soon described. The procession en
slowly at the west door, moved up towards the altar, and when the foremost were w
a few yards of it, all knelt down for a few minutes on the pavement of the chur
worship. At a signal given by one of the party, they rose, and slowly defiled c
the direction of the chapel wherein is preserved the column of the flagellation (?).
the way, no one of the other sex may ever enter that chapel, except on one day i
year—the very day of which I am speaking; and on *that* day men are as rigorously exclu
Well, all knelt again for a few minutes, then rose, and moved slowly towards the
departing as they came, and making way for another procession to enter. It was altog
a most interesting and agreeable spectacle. Utterly alien to our English tastes and h
certainly; but the institution evidently suited the tastes of the people exactly, and I
say may be conducive to piety, and recommend itself to their religious instincts. Co
from their several parishes, and returning, they chant psalms.

"It follows naturally to speak a little more particularly about the adoration of r
for this is just another of those many definite religious acts which make up the su
popular devotion, and supply the void occasioned by the entire discontinuance of th
breviary offices. In the 'Diario Romano' (a little book describing what is pu
transacted, of a religious character, during every day in the year), daily throughout
and indeed on every occasion of unusual solemnity (of which, I think, there are ei
five in all), you read 'Stazione' at such a church. This (whatever it may imply be
denotes that relics are displayed for adoration in that church on the day indicated.
pavement is accordingly strewed with box, lights burn on the altar, and there is a con
influx of visitors to that church throughout the day. For example, at St. Prisca's, a
church on the Aventine, there was a 'Stazione,' 3rd April. In the Romish Missa
will perceive that on the Feria tertia Majoris hebdomadæ (this year April 3), th

admirable things, the individual articles of which, if I were to proceed to describe, this day would not suffice for the relation. So that pilgrimage terminated most fortunately for me. I was abundantly gratified with sights; and I bring away this inestimable gift, a token bestowed by the Virgin herself.

"'Have you made no trial of the powers of your wood?'

"I have: in an inn, before the end of three days, I found a man afflicted

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Statio ad S. Priscam. A very interesting church, by the way, it proved, being evidently built on a site of immense antiquity—traditionally said to be the house of Prisca. You descend by thirty-one steps into the subterranean edifice. At this little out-of-the-way church, there were strangers arriving all the time we were there. Thirty young Dominicans from S. Sabina, hard by, streamed down into the crypt, knelt for a time, and then repaired to perform a similar act of worship above, at the altar. The friend who conducted me to the spot, showed me, in the vineyard immediately opposite, some extraordinary remains of the wall of Servius Tullius. On our return we observed fresh parties straggling towards the church, bent on performing their 'visits.' It should, perhaps, be mentioned that prayers have been put forth by authority, to be used on such occasions.

"I must not pass by this subject of relics so slightly, for it evidently occupies a considerable place in the public devotions of a Roman Catholic. Thus the 'Invito Sagro,' already adverted to, specifies *which* relics will be displayed in each of the six churches enumerated—(*e.g.* the heads of SS. Peter and Paul, their chains, some wood of the cross, &c.)—granting seven years of indulgence for every visit, by whomsoever paid; and promising plenary indulgence to every person who, after confessing and communicating, shall thrice visit each of the aforesaid churches, and pray for awhile on behalf of holy church. There are besides, on nine chief festivals, as many great displays of relics at Rome, the particulars of which may be seen in the 'Année Liturgique,' pp. 189—206. I witnessed *one*, somewhat leisurely, at the Church of the Twelve Apostles, on the afternoon of the 1st of May. There was a congregation of about two or three hundred in church, while somebody in a lofty gallery displayed the relics, his companion proclaiming with a loud voice what each was: 'Questo e il braccio,' &c., &c., which such an one gave to this 'alma basilica,'—the formula being in every instance very sonorously intoned. There was part of the arm of S. Bartholomew and of S. James the Less; part of S. Andrew's leg, arm, and cross; part of one of S. Paul's fingers; one of the nails with which S. Peter was crucified; S. Philip's right foot; liquid blood of S. James; some of the remains of S. John the Evangelist, of the Baptist, of Joseph, and of the Blessed Virgin; together with part of the manger, cradle, cross, and tomb of our Lord, &c., &c. . . . . I have dwelt somewhat disproportionally on relics, but they play so conspicuous a part in the religious system of the country, that in enumerating the several substitutes which have been invented for the old breviary services, it would not be nearly enough to have discussed the subject in a few lines. A visit paid to a church where such objects are exposed, is a distinct as well as popular religious exercise; and it always seemed to me to be performed with great reverence and devotion."

in mind, for whom charms were then in preparation. This piece of w
was placed under his pillow, unknown to himself; he fell into a sl
equally deep and prolonged; in the morning he rose of whole mind."

Chaucer left his account of the Canterbury Pilgrimage incomplete;
another author, soon after Chaucer's death, wrote a supplement to
great work, which, however inferior in genius to the work of the g
master, yet admirably serves our purpose of giving a graphic contempo
picture of the doings of a company of pilgrims to St. Thomas, w
arrived at their destination. Erasmus, too, in the colloquy already
largely quoted, enables us to add some details to the picture.
pilgrims of Chaucer's continuator arrived in Canterbury at "mydmorow
Erasmus tells us what they saw as they approached the city. "The chu
dedicated to St. Thomas, erects itself to heaven with such majesty,
even from a distance it strikes religious awe into the beholders. . . .
There are two vast towers that seem to salute the visitor from afar,
make the surrounding country far and wide resound with the wonde
booming of their brazen bells." Being arrived, they took up their lodg
at the "Chequers." *

> "They toke their In and loggit them at midmorowe I trowe
> Atte Cheker of the hope, that many a man doth know."

And mine host of the "Tabard," in Southwark, their guide, having gi
the necessary orders for their dinner, they all proceeded to the cathe
to make their offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas. At the church d
they were sprinkled with holy water as they entered. The knight and
better sort of the company went straight to their devotions; but som
the pilgrims of a less educated class, began to wander about the nav
the church, curiously admiring all the objects around them. The m
and his companions entered into a warm discussion concerning the a
in the painted glass windows. At length the host of the "Tabard" ca
them together and reproved them for their negligence, whereupon t
hastened to make their offerings :—

* From Mr. Wright's "Archæological Album," p. 19.

"Then passed they forth boystly gogling with their hedds
Kneeled down to-fore the shrine, and hertily their beads
They prayed to St. Thomas, in such wise as they couth;
And sith the holy relikes each man with his mouth
Kissed, as a goodly monk the names told and taught.
And sith to other places of holyness they raught,
And were in their devocioune tyl service were al done."

Erasmus gives a very detailed account of these "holy relikes," and of the other places of holiness":—

"On your entrance [by the south porch] the edifice at once displays itself n all its spaciousness and majesty. To that part any one is admitted. There are some books fixed to the pillars, and the monument of I know ot whom. The iron screens stop further progress, but yet admit a view f the whole space, from the choir to the end of the church. To the choir ou mount by many steps, under which is a passage leading to the north. t that spot is shown a wooden altar, dedicated to the Virgin, but mean, or remarkable in any respect, unless as a monument of antiquity, putting o shame the extravagance of these times. There the pious old man is aid to have breathed his last farewell to the Virgin when his death was at and. On the altar is the point of the sword with which the head of the ost excellent prelate was cleft, and his brain stirred, that he might be the ore instantly despatched. The sacred rust of this iron, through love of e martyr, we religiously kissed. Leaving this spot, we descended to the rypt. It has its own priests. There was first exhibited the perforated kull of the martyr, the forehead is left bare to be kissed, while the other arts are covered with silver. At the same time is shown a slip of lead, ngraved with his name *Thomas Acrensis*.* There also hang in the dark e hair shirts, the girdles and bandages with which that prelate subdued s flesh; striking horror with their very appearance, and reproaching us ith our indulgence and our luxuries. From hence we returned into the oir. On the north side the aumbries were unlocked. It is wonderful to ll what a quantity of bones was there brought out: skulls, jaw-bones, teeth, nds, fingers, entire arms; on all which we devoutly bestowed our kisses;

* This slip of lead had probably been put into his coffin. He is sometimer called homas of Acre.

and the exhibition seemed likely to last for ever, if my somewhat unma able companion in that pilgrimage had not interrupted the zeal c showman.

"'Did he offend the priest?'

"When an arm was brought forward which had still the bloody adhering, he drew back from kissing it, and even betrayed some wear The priest presently shut up his treasures. We next viewed the tab the altar, and its ornaments, and then the articles which are kept und altar, all most sumptuous; you would say Midas and Crœsus were be if you saw that vast assemblage of gold and silver. After this we led into the sacristy. What a display was there of silken vestments, an array of golden candlesticks! . . . . . From this place we were ducted back to the upper floor, for behind the high-altar you ascend as into a new church. There, in a little chapel, is shown the figure of the excellent man, gilt and adorned with many jewels. the head priest (prior) came forward. He opened to us the shri which what is left of the body of the holy man is said to rest. A wo canopy covers the shrine, and when that is drawn up with ropes, in able treasures are opened to view. The least valuable part was every part glistened, shone, and sparkled with rare and very large je some of them exceeding the size of a goose's egg. There some n stood around with much veneration; the cover being raised we all shipped. The prior with a white rod pointed out each jewel, telli name in French, its value, and the name of its donor, for the pri of them were offerings sent by sovereign princes. . . . . From hen returned to the crypt, where the Virgin Mother has her abode, but a what dark one, being edged in by more than one screen.

"'What was she afraid of?'

"Nothing, I imagine, but thieves; for I have never seen any more burdened with riches. When lamps were brought, we beh more than royal spectacle. . . . . Lastly we were conducted back sacristy; there was brought out a box covered with black leather; laid upon the table and opened; immediately all knelt and worshipp

"'What was in it?'

"Some torn fragments of linen, and most of them retaining marks of irt. . . . . After offering us a cup of wine, the prior courteously dis-issed us."

When Chaucer's pilgrims had seen such of this magnificence as existed their earlier time, noon approaching, they gathered together and went to eir dinner. Before they left the church, however, they bought signs "as e manner was," to show to all men that they had performed this meri-rious act.

> "There as manere and custom is, signes there they bought
> For men of contre' should know whom they had sought.
> Each man set his silver in such thing as they liked,
> And in the meen while the miller had y-piked
> His bosom full of signys of Canterbury broches.
> Others set their signys upon their hedes, and some upon their cap,
> And sith to dinner-ward they gan for to stapp."

The appearance of these shrines and their surroundings is brought efore our eyes by the pictures in a beautiful volume of Lydgate's "History St. Edmund" in the British Museum (Harl. 2,278). At f. 40 is a repre-ntation of the shrine of St. Edmund in the abbey church of St Edmund's ury. At f. 9 a still better representation of it, showing the iron grille hich enclosed it, a monk worshipping at it, and a clerk with a wand, pro-bly the custodian whose duty it was to show the various jewels and lics—as the prior did to Erasmus at Canterbury. At f. 47 is another rine, with some people about it who have come in the hope of receiving iraculous cures; still another at f. 100 v., with pilgrims praying round it. t f. 109 a shrine, with two monks in a stall beside it saying an office, a erk and others present. At f. 10 v. a shrine with a group of monks. ther representations of shrines (all no doubt intended to represent the e shrine of St. Edmund, but differing in details) are to be found at 108 v., 117, &c. In the MS. Roman "D'Alexandre," of the latter half of e fourteenth century, in the Bodleian Library, at f. 2,660, is a very good presentation of the shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle, with several people out it, and in front are two pilgrims in rough habits, a broad hat slung er the shoulder, and a staff.

We have hitherto spoken of male pilgrims; but it must be borne in

mind that women of all ranks were frequently to be found on pilgrima and all that has been said of the costume and habits of the one sex ap

Female Pilgrim. (Strutt, pl. 134.)

equally to the other. We give here a cut of a female pilgrim with staff, and hat, from Pl. 134 of Strutt's "Dresses and Habits of the P of England," who professes to take it from the Ha MS. 621. We also give a picture of a pilgrim monk (C MS. Tiberius, A. 7.) who bears the staff and scrip, l otherwise habited in the proper costume of his order.

Pilgrim Monk.

When the pilgrim had returned safely home, it wa natural and proper that as he had been sent forth wit blessing and prayers of the church, he should present self again in church to give thanks for the accomplish of his pilgrimage and his safe return. We do not fi the service-books—as we might have expected—any s service for this occasion, but we find sufficient indic that it was the practice. Knighton tells us, for exa of the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick, that on his r

* Of Chaucer's Wife of Bath we read:—

> "Thrice had she been at Jerusalem,
> And haddé passed many a strangé stream;
> At Rome she haddé been, and at Boloyne,
> In Galice, at St. James, and at Coloyne."

rom his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, before he took any refreshment, e went to all the churches in the city to return thanks. Du Cange ells us that palmers were received on their return home with eccle- iastical processions; but perhaps this was only in the case of men of ome social importance. We have the details of one such occasion on ecord:* William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, assumed the cross, and fter procuring suitable necessaries, took with him a retinue, and among hem a chaplain to perform divine offices, for all of whom he kept a daily

From "Le Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine" (French National Library).

ible. Before he set out he went to Gilbert, Bishop of London, for his cense and benediction. He travelled by land as far as Rome, over rance, Burgundy, and the Alps, leaving his horse at Mantua. He visited very holy place in Jerusalem and on his route; made his prayers and fferings at each; and so returned. Upon his arrival, he made presents f silk cloths to all the churches of his see, for copes or coverings of the tars. The monks of Walden met him in procession, in albes and copes, nging, "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord;" and the

* Dugdale's "Monasticon."

earl coming to the high-altar, and there prostrating himself, the prior him the benediction. After this he rose, and kneeling, offered some cious relics in an ivory box, which he had obtained in Jerusalem elsewhere. This offering concluded, he rose, and stood before the the prior and convent singing the *Te Deum*. Leaving the church he to the chapter, to give and receive the kiss of peace from the prio monks. A sumptuous entertainment followed for himself and his and the succeeding days were passed in visits to relatives and friends congratulated him on his safe return.

Du Cange says that palmers used to present their scrips and staves their parish churches. And Coryatt* says that he saw cockle and m shells, and beads, and other religious relics, hung up over the door little chapel in a nunnery, which, says Fosbroke, were offerings mad pilgrims on their return from Compostella.

The illuminated MS., Julius E. VI., illustrates, among other event the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, various scenes o pilgrimage to Rome and to Jerusalem. In an illumination (subsequ engraved in the chapter on Merchants) he is seen embarking in his ship; in another, he is presented to the Pope and cardinals at Ro (subsequently engraved in the chapter on Secular Clergy); in and he is worshipping at the Holy Sepulchre, where he hung up his s in remembrance of his accomplished vow.

The additional MS. 24,189, is part of St. John Mandeville's histo his travels, and its illuminations in some respects illustrate the voya a pilgrim of rank.

Hans Burgmaier's "Images de Saints," &c.,—from which we tak figure on the next page,—affords us a very excellent contemporary tration of a pilgrim of high rank, with his attendants, all in pilgrim cost and wearing the signs which show us that their pilgrimage has successfully accomplished.

* "Crudities," p. 18.

† In Lydgate's "Life of St. Edmund" (Harl. 2,278) is a picture of King Alk on his pilgrimage, at Rome, receiving the Pope's blessing, in which the treatment subject is very like that of the illumination in the text.

Those who had taken any of the greater pilgrimages would probably be garded with a certain respect and reverence by their untravelled neighbours, and the agnomen of Palmer or Pilgrim, which would naturally be dded to their Christian name—as William the Palmer, or John the Pilgrim is doubtless the origin of two sufficiently common surnames. The kens of pilgrimage sometimes even accompanied a man to his grave, and ere sculptured on his monument. Shells have not unfrequently been

Pilgrim on Horseback.

und in stone coffins, and are taken with great probability to be relics of e pilgrimage, which the deceased had once taken to Compostella, and hich as sacred things, and having a certain religious virtue, were strewed er him as he was carried upon his bier in the funeral procession, and re placed with him in his grave. For example, when the grave of Bishop ayhew, who died in 1516, in Hereford Cathedral, was opened some years o, there was found lying by his side, a common, rough, hazel wand, tween four and five feet long, and about as thick as a man's finger; and th it a mussel and a few oyster-shells. Four other instances of such

hazel rods, without accompanying shells, buried with ecclesiastic previously been observed in the same cathedral.* The tomb of Cheltenham, at Tewkesbury, has the spandrels ornamented with charged with scallop shells, and the pilgrim staff and scrip are sc on the bosses of the groining of the canopy over the tomb. The gravestone at Haltwhistle, Northumberland, to which we have alread than once had occasion to refer,† on which is the usual device of a sculptured in relief, and on one side of the shaft of the cross are sword and shield, charged with the arms of Blenkinsop, a fess b three garbs, indicating, we presume, that the deceased was a knigh the other side of the shaft of the cross are laid a palmer's staff, and a bearing also garbs, and indicating that the knight had been a pilgrim

In the church of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, there is, u monumental arch in the wall of the north aisle, a recumbent effigy, deal defaced, of a man in pilgrim weeds. A tunic or gown reache way down between the knee and ankle, and he has short pointed boots; a hat with its margin decorated with scallop-shells lies unc head, his scrip tasselled and charged with scallop-shells is at his rig and his rosary on his left, and his staff is laid diagonally across the The costly style of the monument,‡ the lion at his feet, and abov collar of SS. round his neck, prove that the person thus commem was a person of distinction.

In the churchyard of Llanfihangel-Aber-Cowen, Carmarthenshire, are three graves,§ which are assigned by the local tradition to thre

* The shells indicate a pilgrimage accomplished, but the rod may not ha intended to represent the pilgrim's bourdon. In the Harl. MS. 5,102, fol. 68, a the beginning of the thirteenth century, is a bishop holding a slender rod (not a staff), and at fol. 17 of the same MS. one is putting a similar rod into a bishop' The priors of small cathedrals bore a staff without crook, and had the privilege arrayed in pontificals for mass; choir-rulers often bore staves. Dr. Rock, in the " of our Fathers," vol. iii., pt. 11, p. 224, gives a cut from a late Flemish Book of in which a priest, sitting at confession, bears a long rod.

† It is engraved in Mr. Boutell's "Christian Monuments in England and Wales

‡ Engraved in Nichols's "Leicestershire," vol. iii., pl. ii., p. 623.

§ Engraved in the "Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses," by the Re Cutts, pl. lxxiii.

palmers, "who wandered thither in poverty and distress, and being about to perish for want, slew each other: the last survivor buried his fellows and then himself in one of the graves which they had prepared, and pulling the stone over him, left it, as it is, ill adjusted." Two of the headstones have very rude demi-effigies, with a cross patée sculptured upon them. In one of the graves were found, some years ago, the bones of a female or youth, and half-a-dozen scallop-shells. There are also, among the curious symbols which appear on mediæval coffin-stones, some which are very likely intended for pilgrim staves. There is one at Woodhorn, Northumberland, engraved in the "Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses," and another at Alnwick-le-Street, Yorkshire, is engraved in Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments," vol. i. It may be that these were men who had made a vow of perpetual pilgrimage, or who died in the midst of an unfinished pilgrimage, and therefore the pilgrim insignia were placed upon their monuments. If every man and woman who had made a pilgrimage had had its badges carved upon their tombs, we should surely have found many other tombs thus designated; but, indeed, we have the tombs of men who we know had accomplished pilgrimages to Jerusalem, but have no pilgrim insignia upon their tombs.

Other illustrations of pilgrim costume may be found scattered throughout the illuminated MSS. References to some of the best of them are here added. In the Royal, 1,696, at f. 163, is a good drawing of St. James as pilgrim. In the Add. MS. 17,687, at f. 33, another of the pilgrim saints with scrip and staff; in the MS. Nero E 2, a half-length of the saint with scallop-shell in his hat; in the MS. 18,143, of early sixteenth-century date, at f. 57 v., another. In Lydgate's "History of St. Edmund," already quoted for its pictures of shrines, there are also several good pictures of pilgrims. On f. 79 is a group of three pilgrims, who appear again in different parts of the history, twice on page 80, and again at 84 and 85. At 81 the three pilgrims have built themselves a hermitage and chapel, surrounded by a fence of wicker-work. In Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster, the figure of a pilgrim is frequently introduced in the ornamental sculpture of the side chapels and on the reredos, in allusion, no doubt, to the pilgrims who figure in the legendary history of St. Edmund the Confessor.

Having followed the pilgrim to his very tomb, there we pause. cannot but satirise the troops of mere religious holiday-makers, who r pleasant summer's holiday through the green roads of merry Eng feasting at the inns, singing amorous songs, and telling loose stor the way; going through a round of sight-seeing at the end of it drinking foul water in which a dead man's blood had been mingled dead man's bones had been washed. But let us be allowed to indulg hope that every act of real, honest, self-denial—however mistake remorse for sin, for the sake of purity, or for the honour of religion benefit the honest, though mistaken devotee. Is *our* religion so p and so pure, and is *our* practice so exactly accordant with it, that w afford to sit in severe judgment upon honest, self-denying error?

THE SECULAR CLERGY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY.

THE present organisation of the Church of England dates from the Council of Hertford, A.D. 673. Before that time the Saxon people were the object of missionary operations, carried by two independent bodies, the Italian mission, having its centre Canterbury, and the Celtic mission, in Iona. The bishops who had en sent from one or other of these sources into the several kingdoms the Heptarchy, gathered a body of clergy about them, with whom ey lived in common at the cathedral town; thence they made ssionary progresses through the towns and villages of the Saxon ush;" returning always to the cathedral as their head-quarters and me. The national churches which sprang from these two sources were pt asunder by some differences of discipline and ceremonial rather than doctrine. These differences were reconciled at the Council of Hertford, l all the churches there and then recognised Theodore, Archbishop of nterbury, as the Metropolitan of all England.

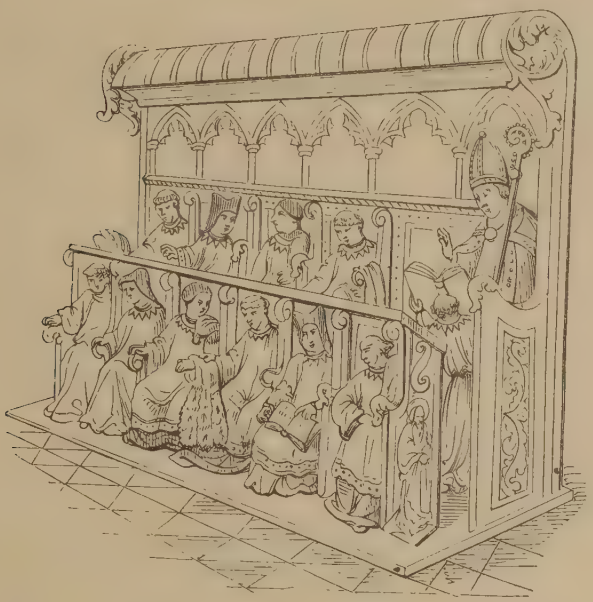
To the same archbishop we owe the establishment of the parochial anisation of the Church of England, which has ever since continued.

He pointed out to the people the advantage of having the constant m
trations of a regular pastor, instead of the occasional visits of a missio
He encouraged the thanes to provide a dwelling-house and a parc
glebe for the clergyman's residence; and permitted that the tithe of
manor—which the thane had hitherto paid into the common church-
of the bishop—should henceforth be paid to the resident pastor, fo
own maintenance and the support of his local hospitalities and chari
and lastly, he permitted each thane to select the pastor for his own m
out of the general body of the clergy. Thus naturally grew the w
establishment of the Church of England; thus each kingdom of
Heptarchy became, in ecclesiastical language, a diocese, each man
parish; and thus the patronage of the benefices of England bec
vested in the lords of the manors.

At the same time that a rector was thus gradually settled in e
parish, with rights and duties which soon became defined, and sanctio
by law, the bishop continued to keep a body of clergy about him in
cathedral, whose position also gradually became defined and settled.
number of clergy in the cathedral establishment became settled,
they acquired the name of canons; they were organised into a c
giate body, with a dean and other officers. The estates of the bish
were distinguished from those of the body of canons. Each canon
his own house within the walled space about the cathedral, which
called the Close, and a share in the common property of the Cha
Besides the canons, thus limited in number, there gradually aros
necessity for other clergymen to fulfil the various duties of a cathe
These received stipends, and lodged where they could in the town; bu
time these additional clergy also were organised into a corporation,
generally some benefactor was found to build them a quadrangle of l
houses within, or hard by, the Close, and often to endow their corpora
with lands and livings. The Vicars' Close at Wells is a very good
well-known example of these supplementary establishments. It is a
quadrangle, with little houses on each side, a hall at one end, and a lib
at the other, and a direct communication with the cathedral. There
arose in process of time many collegiate churches in the kingdom, wh

sembled the cathedral establishments of secular canons in every respect, cept that no bishop had his see within their church. Some of the urches of these colleges of secular canons were architecturally equal to e cathedrals. Southwell Minster, for example, is not even equalled by any of the cathedral churches. It would occupy too much space to enter to any details of the constitution of these establishments.

These canons may usually be recognised in pictures by their cos-



ne. The most characteristic features were the square cap and the furred ys. The amys was a fur cape worn over the shoulders, with a hood ached, and usually has a fringe of the tails of the fur or sometimes of le bells, and two long ends in front. In the accompanying very beau- l woodcut we have a semi-choir of secular canons, seated in their stalls the cathedral, with the bishop in his stall at the west end. They are ited in surplices, ornamented with needlework, beneath which may be

seen their robes, some pink, some blue in colour.* One in the sellæ seems to have his furred amys thrown over the arm of his stall; right-hand neighbour seems to have his hanging over his shoulder. and one in the upper stalls, have round skull caps (birettas); ot have the hood on their heads, where it assumes a horned shape, w may be seen in other pictures of canons. The woodcut is part of a page illumination of the interior of a church, in the Book of Hour Richard II., in the British Museum (Domit. xvii.).

These powerful ecclesiastical establishments continued to flou throughout the Middle Ages; their histories must be sought in Dugd "Monasticon," or Britton's or Murray's "Cathedrals," or the monogra of the several cathedrals. In the registers of the cathedrals there e also a vast amount of unpublished matter, which would supply all little life-like details that historians usually pass by, but which we n to enable us really to enter into the cathedral life of the Middle A The world is indebted to Mr. Raine for the publication of some s details from the registry of York, in the very interesting "York Fa Rolls," which he edited for the Surtees Society.

To return to the Saxon rectors. By the end of the Saxon period of history we find the whole kingdom divided into parishes, and in eac rector resident. Probably the rectors were often related to the lords of manors, as is natural in the case of family livings; they were not a lear clergy; speaking generally they were a married clergy; in other respe too, they did not affect the ascetic spirit of monasticism; they ate drank like other people; farmed their own glebes; spent a good dea their leisure in hawking and hunting, like their brothers, and cousins, neighbours; but all their interests were in the people and things of th own parishes; they seem to have performed their clerical functions fa well; and they were bountiful to the poor; in short, they seem to h had the virtues and failings of the country rectors of a hundred years ag

After the Norman conquest several causes concurred to deprive a la

* It will be shown hereafter that secular priests ordinarily wore dresses of these colours, all the ecclesiastical canons to the contrary notwithstanding.

ajority of the parishes of the advantage of the cure of well-born, well-ndowed rectors, and to supply their places by ill-paid vicars and parochial haplains. First among these causes we may mention the evil of impropria-ons, from which so many of our parishes are yet suffering, and of which this a brief explanation. Just before the Norman conquest there was a great evival of the monastic principle; several new orders of monks had been unded; and the religious feeling of the age set in strongly in favour of these eligious communities which then, at least, were learned, industrious, and self-enying. The Normans founded many new monasteries in England, and not nly endowed them with lands and manors, but introduced the custom of ndowing them also with the rectories of which they were patrons. They ave the benefice to the convent, and the convent, as a religious corporation, ook upon itself the office of rector, and provided a vicar to perform the piritual duties of the cure. The apportionment of the temporalities of e benefice usually was, that the convent took the great tithe, which rmed the far larger portion of the benefice, and gave the vicar the small the, and (if it were not too large) the rectory-house and glebe for his aintenance. The position of a poor vicar, it is easy to see, was very fferent in dignity and emolument, and in prestige in the eyes of his arishioners, and the means of conferring temporal benefits upon them, om that of the old rectors his predecessors in the cure. By the time the Reformation, about half of the livings of England and Wales had us become impropriate to monasteries, cathedral chapters, corporations, uilds, &c.; and since the great tithe was not restored to the parishes at e dissolution of the religious houses, but granted to laymen together ith the abbey-lands, about half the parishes of England are still suffering om this perversion of the ancient Saxon endowments.

Another cause of the change in the condition of the parochial clergy as the custom of papal provisors. The popes, in the thirteenth century, adually assumed a power of nominating to vacant benefices. Gregory IX. nd Innocent IV., who ruled the church in the middle of this century, are id to have presented Italian priests to all the best benefices in England. any of these foreigners, having preferment in their own country, never ame near their cures, but employed parish chaplains to fulfil their duties,

and sometimes neglected to do even that. Edward III. resisted this i sion of the rights of the patrons of English livings, and in the time Richard II. it was finally stopped by the famous statute of Præmu (A.D. 1392).

The custom of allowing one man to hold several livings was ano means of depriving parishes of a resident rector, and handing them ove the care of a curate. The extent to which this system of Plural was carried in the Middle Ages seems almost incredible; we even r of one man having from four to five hundred benefices.

Another less known abuse was the custom of presenting to benef men who had taken only the minor clerical orders. A glance at the l of incumbents of benefices in any good county history will reveal the that rectors of parishes were often only deacons, sub-deacons, or acolyte It is clear that in many of these cases—probably in the majority of ther the men had taken a minor order only to qualify themselves for hold the temporalities of a benefice, and never proceeded to the priesthoo all; they employed a chaplain to perform their spiritual functions for th while they enjoyed the fruits of the benefice as if it were a lay fee, minor order which they had taken imposing no restraint upon their liv an entirely secular life.† It is clear that a considerable number of prie

* Here is a good example from Baker's "Northamptonshire:"—"Brough Rectory: Richard Meyreul, sub-deacon, presented in 1243. Peter de Vieleston, deac presented in 1346-7. Though still only a deacon, he had previously been rector Cottisbrook from 1342 to 1345."

Matthew Paris tells us that, in 1252, the beneficed clergy in the diocese of Linc were urgently persuaded and admonished by their bishop to allow themselves to promoted to the grade of priesthood, but many of them refused.

The thirteenth Constitution of the second General Council of Lyons, held in 12 ordered curates to reside and to take priests' orders within a year of their promotion; lists above quoted show how inoperative was this attempt to remedy the practice aga which it was directed.

† A writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* for July, 1856, says:—"During the fo teenth century it would seem that half the number of rectories throughout England w held by acolytes unable to administer the sacrament of the altar, to hear confessions, even to baptise. Presented to a benefice often before of age to be ordained, the rec preferred to marry and to remain a layman, or at best a clerk in minor orders. . . . . short, during the time to which we refer, rectories were looked upon and treated as fees."

re required to perform the duties of the numerous parishes whose ctors were absent or in minor orders, who seem to have been called rochial chaplains. The emolument and social position of these paro-ial chaplains were not such as to make the office a desirable one ; and it uld seem that the candidates for it were, to a great extent, drawn from e lower classes of the people. Chaucer tells us of his poor parson of own, whose description we give below, that

"With him there was a *ploughman* was his brother."

In the Norwich corporation records of the time of Henry VIII. (1521 .), there is a copy of the examination of "Sir William Green," in whose etch of his own life, though he was only a pretended priest, we have a rious history of the way in which many a poor man's son did really ain the priesthood. He was the son of a labouring man, learned gram-ar at the village grammar school for two years, and then went to day bour with his father. Afterwards removing to Boston, he lived with his nt, partly labouring for his living, and going to school as he had oppor-nity. Being evidently a clerkly lad, he was admitted to the minor lers, up to that of acolyte, at the hands of "Friar Graunt," who was a ffragan bishop in the diocese of Lincoln. After that he went to Cam dge, where, as at Boston, he partly earned a livelihood by his labour, d partly availed himself of the opportunities of learning which the uni-rsity offered, getting his meat and drink of alms. At length, having an portunity of going to Rome, with two monks of Whitby Abbey (perhaps the capacity of attendant, one Edward Prentis being of the company, o was, perhaps, his fellow-servant to the two monks), he there en-avoured to obtain the order of the priesthood, which seems to have en conferred rather indiscriminately at Rome, and without a "title;" t in this he was unsuccessful. After his return to England he laboured his living, first with his brother in Essex, then at Cambridge, then at ston, then in London. At last he went to Cambridge again, and, by the luence of Mr. Coney, obtained of the Vice-Chancellor a licence under l to collect subscriptions for one year towards an exhibition to complete

his education in the schools, as was often done by poor scholars.* Ha he obtained money enough, completed his education, and obtained ord nation in due course, it would have completed the story in a regula way. But here he fell into bad hands, forged first a new poor scholar licence, and then letters of orders, and then wandered about begging alm as an unfortunate, destitute priest; he may furnish us with a type of th idle and vagabond priests, of whom there were only too many in th country, and of whom Sir Thomas More says, "the order is rebuked b the priests' begging and lewd living, which either is fain to walk at rover and live upon trentals (thirty days' masses), or worse, or to serve in secular man's house."† The original of this sketch is given at length i the note below.‡

* See Chaucer's poor scholar, hereinafter quoted, who—

"busily gan for the soulis pray
Of them that gave him wherewith to scholaie."

† "Dialogue on Heresies," book iii. c. 12.

‡ "Norwich Corporation Records." Sessions Book of 12th Henry VII. Memorand.— That on Thursday, Holyrood Eve, in the xijth of King Henry the VIIJ., Sir Willia Grene, being accused of being a spy, was examined before the mayor's deputy an others, and gave the following account of himself:—"The same Sir William saieth tha he was borne in Boston, in the countie of Lincoln, and about xviij yeres nowe paste there about, he dwellyd with Stephen 'at Grene, his father at Wantlet, in the said countie of Lincolne, and lerned gramer by the space of ij yeres; after that by v or yeres used labour with his said father, sometyme in husbandrie and other wiles with th longe sawe; and after that dwelling in Boston at one Genet a Grene, his aunte, use labour and other wiles goyng to scole by the space of ij years, and in that time receyve benet and accolet [the first tonsure and acolytate] in the freres Austens in Boston of on frere Graunt, then beying suffragan of the diocese of Lincoln ["Frere Graunt" wa William Grant, titular Bishop of Pavada, in the province of Constantinople. He was Vica of Redgewell, in Essex, and Suffragan of Ely, from 1516 to 1525.—*Stubbs's Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*]; after that dwelling within Boston wt. one Mr. Williamson merchaunt, half a yere, and after that dwellinge in Cambridge by the space of half a yer used labour by the day beryng of ale and pekynge of saffron, and sometyme going to th colleges, and gate his mete and drynke of almes; and aft that the same Sir William, wit ij monks of Whitby Abbey, and one Edward Prentis, went to Rome, to thentent for t have ben made p'st, to which order he could not be admitted; and after abiding i Larkington, in the countie of Essex, used labour for his levyng wt. one Thom. Grene hi broder; and after that the same Sr. Will. cam to Cambridge, and ther teried iiij or wekes, and gate his levynge of almes; and after, dwelling in Boston, agen laboure with dyvs persones by vij or viij wekes; and after that dwelling in London, in Holborn

This custom of poor scholars gaining their livelihood and the means of prosecuting their studies by seeking alms was very common. It should be noticed here that the Church in the Middle Ages was the chief ladder by which men of the lower ranks were able to climb up—and vast numbers did climb up—into the upper ranks of society, to be clergymen, and monks, and abbots, and bishops, statesmen, and popes. Piers Ploughman, in a very illiberal strain, makes it a subject of reproach—

> "Now might each sowter * his son setten to schole,
> And each beggar's brat in the book learne,
> And worth to a writer and with a lorde dwelle,
> Or falsly to a frere the fiend for to serven.
> So of that beggar's brat a Bishop that worthen,
> Among the peers of the land prese to sythen;
> And lordes sons lowly to the lorde's loute,
> Knyghtes crooketh hem to, and coucheth ful lowe;
> And his sire a sowter y-soiled with grees,†
> His teeth with toyling of lether battered as a sawe."

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th one Rickerby, a fustian dyer, about iij wekes, and after that the same William orted to Cambridge, and ther met agen wt. the said Edward Prentise; and at instance d labour of one Mr. Cony, of Cambridge, the same Will. Grene and Edward Prentise teyned a licence for one year of Mr. Cappes, than being deputee to the Chancellor of e said univ'sitie, under his seal of office, wherby the same Will. and Edward gathered guether in Cambridgeshire releaff toward their exhibicon to scole by the space of viij ks, and after that the said Edward departed from the company of the same William. d shortly after that, one Robert Draper, scoler, borne at Feltham, in the countee of ncoln, accompanyed wt. the same Willm., and they forged and made a newe licence, d putte therin ther bothe names, and the same sealed wt. the seale of the other licence nted to the same Will. and Edward as is aforeseid, by which forged licence the same ill. and Robt. gathered in Cambridgeshire and other shires. At Coventre the same ll. and Robt. caused one Knolles, a tynker, dwelling in Coventre, to make for them a e of tynne mete for a seale of a title which the same Robt. Draper holdde of Makby bey. And after that the same Willm. and Robt. cam to Cambridge, and ther met one Sr. John Manthorp, the which hadde ben lately before at Rome, and ther was de a prest; and the same Robert Draper copied out the bulle of orders of deken, sub-ken, and p'stchod for the same Willm.; and the same Willm. toke waxe, and leyed p'st it to the prynte of the seale of the title that the said Robert had a Makby afore-d, and led the same forged seale in the casse of tynne aforeseid, and with labels fastned same to his said forged bull. And sithen the same Willm. hath gathered in dyvers res, as Northampton, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk, alway shewyng and feyning nself that he hadde ben at Rome, and ther was made preste, by means whereof he hath eyved almes of dyvers and many persones."—*Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 342.

* Cobbler. † Grease.

The Church was the great protector and friend of the lower classes o society, and that on the highest grounds. In this very matter of educating the children of the poor, and opening to such as were specially gifted a suitable career, we find so late as the date of the Reformation, Cranmer maintaining the rights of the poor on high grounds. For among the Royal Commissioners for reorganising the cathedral establishment at Can terbury "were more than one or two who would have none admitted to the Grammar School but sons or younger brothers of gentlemen. As for others, husbandmen's children, they were more used, they said, for the plough and to be artificers than to occupy the place of the learned sort. Whereto the Archbishop said that poor men's children are many times endowed with more singular gifts of nature, which are also the gifts of God as eloquence, memory, apt pronunciation, sobriety, and such like; and also commonly more apt to study than is the gentleman's son, more deli cately educated. Hereunto it was, on the other part, replied that i was for the ploughman's son to go to plough, and the artificer's son to apply to the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentleman's children are used to have the knowledge of government and rule of the common wealth. 'I grant,' replied the Archbishop, 'much of your meaning herein as needful in a commonwealth; but yet utterly to exclude the ploughman's son and the poor man's son from the benefit of learning, a though they were unworthy to have the gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon them as well as upon others, was much as to say as that Almighty God should not be at liberty to bestow his great gifts of grace upon any person, but as we and other men shall appoint them to be employed according to our fancy, and not according to his most goodly will and pleasure, who giveth his gifts of learning and other perfections in all sciences unto all kinds and states of people indifferently."

Besides the rectors and vicars of parishes, there was another class o beneficed clergymen in the middle ages, who gradually became very numerous, viz., the chantry priests. By the end of the ante-Reformatio period there was hardly a church in the kingdom which had not one o more chantries founded in it, and endowed for the perpetual maintenanc

of a chantry priest, to say mass daily for ever for the soul's health of the founder and his family. The churches of the large and wealthy towns had sometimes ten or twelve such chantries. The chantry chapel was sometimes built on to the parish church, and opening into it; sometimes it was only a corner of the church screened off from the rest of the area by open-work wooden screens. The chantry priest had sometimes a chantry-house to live in, and estates for his maintenance, sometimes he had only an annual income, charged on the estate of the founder. The chantries were suppressed, and their endowments confiscated, in the reign of Edward VI., but the chantry chapels still remain as part of our parish churches, and where the parclose screens have long since been removed, the traces of the chantry altar are still very frequently apparent to the eye of the ecclesiastical antiquary. Sometimes more than one priest was provided for by wealthy people. Richard III. commenced the foundation of a chantry of one hundred chaplains, to sing masses in the cathedral church of York; the chantry-house was begun, and six altars were erected in York Minster, when the king's death at Bosworth Field interrupted the completion of the magnificent design.*

We have next to add to our enumeration of the various classes of the mediæval clergy another class of chaplains, whose duties were very nearly akin to those of the chantry priests. These were the guild priests. It was the custom throughout the middle ages for men and women to associate themselves in religious guilds, partly for mutual assistance in temporal matters, but chiefly for mutual prayers for their welfare while living, and for their soul's health when dead. These guilds usually maintained a chaplain, whose duty it was to celebrate mass daily for the brethren and sisters of the guild. These guild priests must have been numerous, *e.g.*, we learn from Blomfield's "Norfolk," that there were at the Reformation ten guilds in Windham Church, Norfolk, seven at Hingham, seven at Swaffham, seventeen at Yarmouth, &c. Moreover, a guild, like a chantry, had sometimes more than one guild priest. Leland tells us the guild of St. John's, in St. Botolph's Church, Boston, had ten priests, "living in a fayre house at the west end of the parish church yard." In St. Mary's Church, Lichfield, was a guild which had five priests.†

* York Fabric Rolls, p. 87, note. † "Church of our Fathers," ii. 441.

The rules of some of these religious guilds may be found in Stow's "Survey of London," *e.g.*, of St. Barbara's guild in the church of St. Katherine, next the Tower of London (in book ii. p. 7 of Hughes's edition.)

We find bequests to the guild priests, in common with other chaplains, in the ancient wills, *e.g.*, in 1541, Henry Waller, of Richmond, leaves "to every gyld prest of thys town, vi^{d}. y^{t} ar at my beryall."*

Dr. Rock says,† "Besides this, every guild priest had to go on Sundays and holy days, and help the priests in the parochial services of the church in which his guild kept their altar. All chantry priests were bidden by our old English canons to do the same." The brotherhood priest of the guild of the Holy Trinity, at St. Botolph's, in London, was required to be "meke and obedient unto the qu'er in alle divine servyces duryng hys time, as custome is in the citye amonge alle other p'sts." Sometimes a chantry priest was specially required by his foundation deed to help in the cure of souls in the parish, as in the case of a chantry founded in St. Mary's Maldon, and Little Bentley, Essex;‡ sometimes the chantry chapel was built in a hamlet at a distance from the parish church, and was intended to serve as a chapel of ease, and the priest as an assistant curate, as at Foulness Island and Billericay, both in Essex.

But it is very doubtful whether the chantry priests generally considered themselves bound to take any share in the parochial work of the parish.§ In the absence of any cure of souls, the office of chantry or guild priest was easy, and often lucrative; and we find it a common subject of complaint, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, that it was preferred to a cure of souls; and that even parochial incumbents were apt to leave their parishes in the hands of a parochial chaplain, and seek for themselves a chantry or guild, or one of the temporary engagements to celebrate annals, of which there were so many provided by the wills of which we shall shortly have to speak. Thus Chaucer reckons, among the virtues of his poore parson, that—

* Richmond Wills.

† "Church of our Fathers," ii. 408, note.

‡ Newcourt's "Repertorium."

§ Johnson's "Canons," ii. 421. Ang. Cath. Lib. Edition.

"He set not his benefice to hire,
And let his shepe accomber in the mire,
And runne to London to Saint Poule's,
To seken him a chauntrie for soules,
Or with a brotherhood to be with-held,
But dwelt at home, and kepte well his fold."

o also Piers Ploughman—

"Parsons and parisshe preistes, pleyned hem to the bisshope,
That hire parishes weren povere sith the pestilence tyme,
To have a licence and leve at London to dwelle
And syngen ther for symonie, for silver is swete."

esides the chantry priests and guild priests, there was a great crowd of sts who gained a livelihood by taking temporary engagements to say ses for the souls of the departed. Nearly every will of the period we considering provides for the saying of masses for the soul of the ator. Sometimes it is only by ordering a fee to be paid to every priest shall be present at the funeral, sometimes by ordering the executors ave a number of masses, varying from ten to ten thousand, said as dily as may be; sometimes by directing that a priest shall be engaged ay mass for a certain period, varying from thirty days to forty or years. These casual masses formed an irregular provision for a large ber of priests, many of whom performed no other clerical function, too often led a dissolute as well as an idle life. Archbishop Islip in his "Constitutions:"*—"We are certainly informed, by com- fame and experience, that modern priests, through covetousness love of ease, not content with reasonable salaries, demand excessive for their labours, and receive it; and do so despise labour and y pleasure, that they wholly refuse, as parish priests, to serve in ches or chapels, or to attend the cure of souls, though fitting ies are offered them, that they may live in a leisurely manner, by cele- ng annals for the quick and dead; and so parish churches and chapels in unofficiated, destitute of parochial chaplains, and even proper es, to the grievous danger of souls." Chaucer has introduced one is class into the Canon's Yeoman's tale:—

* Johnson's "Canons," ii. 421.

"In London was a priest, an annueller,*
That therein dwelled hadde many a year,
Which was so pleasant and so serviceable
Unto the wife there as he was at table
That she would suffer him no thing to pay
For board ne clothing, went he never so gay,
And spending silver had he right ynoit." †

Another numerous class of the clergy were the domestic chaplai Every nobleman and gentleman had a private chapel in his own hou and an ecclesiastical establishment attached, proportionate to his o rank and wealth. In royal houses and those of the great nobles, t private establishment was not unfrequently a collegiate establishment, w a dean and canons, clerks, and singing men and boys, who had th church and quadrangle within the precincts of the castle, and were ma tained by ample endowments. The establishment of the royal chapel St. George, in Windsor Castle, is, perhaps, the only remaining examp The household book of the Earl of Northumberland gives us very details of his chapel establishment, and of their duties, and of the emo ments which they received in money and kind. They consisted of a de who was to be a D.D. or LL.D. or B.D., and ten other priests, and ele gentlemen and six children, who composed the choir.‡ But country gen

* One who sang annual or yearly masses for the dead.

† Enough.

‡ Chapel of Earl of Northumberland, from the Household Book of Henry Algern fifth Earl of Northumberland, born 1477, and died 1527. ("Antiq. Repertory," iv. 24

First, a preist, a doctour of divinity, a doctor of law, or a bachelor of divinitie, to dean of my lord's chapell.

It. A preist for to be surveyour of my lorde's landes.

It. A preist for to be secretary to my lorde.

It. A preist for to be amner to my lorde.

It. A preist for to be sub-dean for ordering and keaping the queir in my lorde's chap daily.

It A preist for a riding chaplein for my lorde.

It. A preist for a chaplein for my lorde's eldest son, to waite uppon him daily.

It. A preist for my lorde's clark of the closet.

It. A preist for a maister of gramer in my lorde's hous.

It. A preist for reading the Gospell in the chapel daily.

It. A preist for singing of our Ladies' mass in the chapell daily.

The number of these persons as chapleins and preists in houshould are xi. [

of wealth often maintained a considerable chapel establishment.

ie gentlemen and children of my lorde's chappell which be not appointed to attend at me, but only in exercising of Godde's service in the chapell daily at matteins, Lady-, hyhe-mass, evensong, and compeynge :—
rst, a bass.
A second bass.
Third bass.
A maister of the childer, or counter-tenor.
Second and third counter-tenor.
A standing tenour.
A second, third, and fourth standing tenour.
ie number of theis persons, as gentlemen of my lorde's chapell, xi.

ildren of my lorde's chappell :—
ree trebles and three second trebles.
all six.

table of what the Earl and Lady were accustomed to offer at mass on all holydays he keep chappell," of offering and annual lights paid for at Holy Blood of is (Hales, in Gloucestershire), our Lady of Walsingham, St. Margaret in Lincoln-, our Lady in the Whitefriars, Doncaster, of my lord's foundation :—
esents at Xmas to Barne, Bishop of Beverley and York, when he comes, as he is accustomed, yearly.
wards to the children of his chapell when they do sing the responde called Exaudivi at the mattynstime for xi. in vespers upon Allhallow Day, 6*s.* 8*d.*
St. Nicholas Eve, 6*s.* 8*d.*
them of his lordshipe's chappell if they doe play the play of the Nativitie upon Xmas Day in the mornynge in my lorde's chapell before his lordship, xx*s.*
r singing "Gloria in Excelsis" at the mattens time upon Xmas Day in the mg.
To the Abbot of Miserewle (Misrule) on Xmas.
the yeoman or groom of the vestry for bringing him the hallowed taper on Candle-mas Day.
his lordship's chaplains and other servts. that play the Play before his lordship on Shrofetewsday at night, xx*s.*
at play the Play of Resurrection upon Estur Daye in the mg. in my lorde's chapell before his lordship.
the yeoman or groom of the vestry on Allhallows Day for syngynge for all Cris-tynne soles the saide nyhte to it be past mydnyght, 3*s.* 4*d.*

e Earl and Lady were brother and sister of St. Christopher Gilde of Yorke, and pd. 6*s.* 8*d.* each yearly, and when the Master of the Gild brought my lord and my lady for their lyverays a yard of narrow violette cloth and a yard of narrow rayed cloth, 13*s.* 4*d.* (*i.e.*, a yard of each to each).
l to Procter of St. Robert's of Knasbrughe, when my lord and lady were brother and sister, 6*s.* 8*d.* each.

pp. 272-278, is an elaborate programme of the ordering of my lord's chapel for

Henry Machyn, in his diary,* tells us, in noticing the death of Sir Jarmyn, of Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk, in 1552, that "he was housekeeper in the county of Suffolk, and kept a goodly chapel ing men." Knights and gentlemen of less means, or less love o singing men, were content with a single priest as chaplain.† Even yeomen and tradesmen had their domestic chaplain. Sir Thom says,‡ there was "such a rabel [of priests], that every mean m have a priest in his house to wait upon his wife, which no ma lacketh now." The chapels of the great lords were often su buildings, erected within the precincts, of which St. George's, and the chapel within the Tower of London may supply examples. chapels erected within the house were still handsome and eccles designed buildings, of which examples may be found in nearly castle and manor house which still exists; *e.g.*, the chapel of C Castle of the twelfth century, of Ormsbro Castle of late twelfth of Beverstone Castle of the fourteenth century, engraved in "Domestic Architecture," III. p. 177, that at Igtham Cast fifteenth century, engraved in the same work, III. p. 173; that at

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the various services, from which it appears that there were organs, and several ing men played them in turn.

At p. 292 is an order about the washing of the linen for the chapel Surplices washed sixteen times a year against the great feasts—eighteen s men, and six for children—and seven albs to be washed sixteen times a year aulter-cloths for covering of the alters" to be washed sixteen times a year.

Page 285 ordered that the vestry stuff shall have at every removal (fro house) one cart for the carrying the nine antiphoners, the four grailles, the han three altars in the chapel, the surplices, the altar-cloths in my lord's closet an and the sort (suit) of vestments and single vestments and copes "accopeed" other my lord's chapell stuff to be sent afore my lord's chariot before his lord

[Cardinal Wolsey, after the Earl's death, intimated his wish to have t the Earl's chapel, which a note speaks of as fine service books.—P. 314.]

* Edited by Mr. Gough Nichols for the Camden Society.

† Richard Burré, a wealthy yeoman and "ffarmer of the parsonage of Sow the Temple, which I holde of the howse of St. Jonys," in 19 Henry VIII. Robert Bechton, "my chaplen, syng ffor my soule by the span of ix. yers;" requires an obit for his soul for eleven years in Sompting Church.—("Note by M. A. Lower, "Sussex Archæological Collections," iii. p. 112.)

‡ "Dialogue of Heresies," iii. c. 12.

l of the fifteenth century. In great houses, besides the general ›el, there was often a small oratory besides for the private use of the of the castle, in later times called a closet ; sometimes another oratory ıe lady, as in the case of the Earl of Northumberland.* In some ıese domestic chapels we find a curious internal arrangement ; the ern part of the apartment is divided into two stories by a wooden . This is the case also with the chapel of the preceptory of Chobham, humberland, of the Coyston Almshouses at Leicester (Parker's "Dom. ı"). It is the case in one of the chapels in Tewkesbury Abbey Church, in the case of a priory church in Norway. In some cases it was pro- y to accommodate the tenants of different stories of the house. The ıency with which in later times the lord of the house had a private ıry in the chapel (a similar arrangement occasionally occurs in parish ches) leads us to conjecture that in these cases of two floors the upper was for the members of the family, and the lower for the servants of e ouse. These chapels were thoroughly furnished with vessels, books, , and every usual ornament, and every object and appliance neces- for the performance of the offices of the church, with a splendour ›rtioned to the means of the master of the house. From the ehold Book of the Earl of Northumberland, we gather that r hapel had three altars, and that my lord and my lady had each a t, *i.e.*, an oratory, in which there were other altars. The chapel was hed with hangings, and had a pair of organs. There were four an- ners and four grails—service books—which were so famous for their ty, that, at the earl's death, Wolsey intimated his wish to have them. ind mention, too, of the suits of vestments and single vestments, and s and surplices, and altar-cloths for the five altars. All these things under the care of the yeoman of the vestry, and were carried about the earl at his removals from one to another of his houses. Minute logues and descriptions of the furniture of these domestic chapels may be found in the inventories attached to ancient wills.†

See note on previous page, "the altar-cloths in my lord's closet and my ladie's."

Of the inventories to be found in wills, we will give only two, of the chapels of

We shall give hereafter a picture of one of these domestic chapla viz., of Sir Roger, chaplain of the chapel of the Earl of Warwick Flamstead. There is a picture of another chaplain of the Earl Warwick in the MS. Life of R. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Ju E. IV.), where the earl and his chaplain are represented sitting togethe dinner.

Besides the clergy who were occupied in these various kinds of spiri work, there were also a great number of priests engaged in secular occu tions. Bishops were statesmen, generals, and ambassadors, employ suffragan bishops* in the work of their dioceses. Priests were engaged many ways in the king's service, and in that of noblemen and oth Piers Ploughman says :—

> "Somme serven the kyng, and his silver tellen,
> In cheker and in chauncelrie, chalangen his dettes,
> Of wardes and of wardemotes, weyves and theyves.
> And some serven as servantz, lordes and ladies,
> And in stede of stywardes, sitten and demen."

The domestic chaplains were usually employed more or less in sec duties. Thus such services are regularly allotted to the eleven priest the chapel of the Earls of Northumberland ; one was surveyor of my lo lands, and another my lord's secretary. Mr. Christopher Pickering, in his

country gentlemen. Rudulph Adirlay, Esq. of Colwick ("Testamenta Eboracen p. 30), Nottinghamshire, A.D. 1429, leaves to Alan de Cranwill, his chaplain, a missal and another book, and to Elizabeth his wife "the chalice, vestment, with candelabra of laton, and the little missal, with all other ornaments belonging to chapel." In the inventories of the will of John Smith, Esq., of Blackmore, Essex, 1543, occur : "In the chappell chamber—Item a long setle yoyned. In the chapp Item one aulter of yoyner's worke. Item a table with two leaves of the passion Item a long setle of waynscott. Item a bell hanging over the chapel. Chappell s Copes and vestments thre. Aulter fronts foure. Corporall case one ; and dyvers pec silk necessary for cusshyons v. Thomas Smith (to have) as moche as wyll serve his c pell, the resydue to be solde by myn executours." The plate and candlesticks o chapel are not specially mentioned ; they are probably included among the plate w is otherwise disposed of, and "the xiiiij latyn candlestyckes of dyvers sorts," elsew mentioned.—*Essex Archæological Society's Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 60.

* See the Rev. W. Stubbs's learned and laborious "Registrum Sacrum Anglican which gives lists of the suffragan (as well as the diocesan) bishops of the Chur England.

1542), leaves to "my sarvands John Dobson and Frances, xx^{s}. a-pece, des ther wages; allso I gyve unto Sir James Edwarde my sarvand," and one of the witnesses to the will is "Sir James Edwarde, preste," was probably Mr. Pickering's chaplain.* Sir Thomas More says, y man has a priest to wait upon his wife; and in truth the chaplain s to have often performed the duties of a superior gentleman usher. olas Blackburn, a wealthy citizen of York, and twice Lord Mayor, es (A.D. 1431-2) a special bequest to his wife "to find her a gentle-an, and a priest, and a servant."† Lady Elizabeth Hay leaves ests in this order, to her son, her chaplain, her servant, and her .‡

* "Richmondshire Wills," p. 34.

† "Test. Ebor.," 220.

‡ Ibid., p. 39

CHAPTER II.

CLERKS IN MINOR ORDERS.

IT is necessary, to a complete sketch of the subject of secular clergy, to notice, however briefly, the minor ord which have so long been abolished in the reformed Chu of England, that we have forgotten their very names. There w seven orders through which the clerk had to go, from the lowest the highest step in the hierarchy. The Pontifical of Archbishop Ecgl gives us the form of ordination for each order; and the ordinat ceremonies and exhortations show us very fully what were the du of the various orders, and by what costume and symbols of office may recognise them. But these particulars are brought together m concisely in a document of much later date, viz., in the accoun the degradation from the priesthood of Sir William Sawtre, the firs the Lollards who died for heresy, in the year 1400 A.D., and a transc of it will suffice for our present purpose. The archbishop, assi by several bishops, sitting on the bishop's throne in St. Paul's— William Sawtre standing before him in priestly robes—proceeded the degradation as follows:—"In the name, &c., we, Thomas, degrade and depose you from the order of priests, and in to thereof we take from you the paten and the chalice, and dep you of all power of celebrating mass; we also strip you of chasuble, take from you the sacerdotal vestment, and deprive altogether of the dignity of the priesthood. Thee also, the said Will dressed in the habit of a deacon, and having the book of the gos in thy hands, do we degrade and depose from the order of deacon

ondemned and relapsed heretic; and in token hereof we take from e the book of the gospels, and the stole, and deprive thee of the ver of reading the gospels. We degrade thee from the order of deacons, and in token thereof take from thee the albe and maniple. degrade thee from the order of an acolyte, taking from thee in en thereof this small pitcher and taper staff. We degrade thee from order of an exorcist, and take from thee in token thereof the book of rcisms. We degrade thee from the order of reader, and take from thee oken thereof the book of divine lessons. Thee also, the said William ytre, vested in a surplice as an ostiary,* do we degrade from that order, ing from thee the surplice and the keys of the church. Furthermore, as a n of actual degradation, we have caused the crown and clerical tonsure pe shaved off in our presence, and to be entirely obliterated like a lay- n; we have also caused a woollen cap to be put upon thy head, as a ular layman."

The word *clericus*—clerk—was one of very wide and rather vague signi- nce, and included not only the various grades of clerks in orders, of om we have spoken, but also all men who followed any kind of occupa- n which involved the use of reading and writing; finally, every man who ld read might claim the "benefit of clergy," *i.e.*, the legal immunities a clerk. The word is still used with the same comprehensiveness and gueness of meaning. Clerk in Orders is still the legal description of a rgyman; and men whose occupation is to use the pen are still called rks, as lawyers' clerks, merchants' clerks, &c. Clerks were often em- yed in secular occupations; for example, Alan Middleton, who was

* In a pontifical of the middle of the fifteenth century, in the British Museum, erton, 1067) at f. 19, is an illumination at the beginning of the service for ordering ostiary, in which the act is represented. The bishop, habited in a green chasuble white mitre, is delivering the keys to the clerk, who is habited in a surplice over a k cassock, and is tonsured. At f. 35 of the same MS. is a pretty little picture, show- the ordination of priests; and at f. 44 v., of the consecration of bishops. Other scopal acts are illustrated in the same MS.: confirmation at f. 12; dedication of a rch, f. 100; consecration of an altar, f. 120; benediction of a cemetery, f. 149 v.; secration of chalice and paten, f. 163; reconciling penitents, f. 182 and f. 186 v.; the et-washing," f. 186.

employed by the convent of St. Alban's to collect their rents, and who represented on page 63 ante in the picture from their "Catalogus Benefactorum" (Nero D. vii., British Museum), is tonsured, and therefore was a clerk. Chaucer gives us a charming picture of a poor clerk of Oxford who seems to have been a candidate for holy orders, and is therefore germane to our subject :—

"A clerke there was of Oxenforde also,
That unto logike hadde long ygo,
As lene was his horse as is a rake,
And he was not right fat, I undertake,
But looked holwe and thereto soberly.
Ful thredbare was his overest courtepy,*
For he hadde getten him yet no benefice,
Ne was nought worldly to have an office.†
For him was lever han at his beddes hed
A twenty bokes, clothed in black or red,
Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
Than robes riche, or fidel or sautrie.
But all be that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but little gold in cofre,
But all that he might of his frendes hente,‡
On bokes and on lerning he it spente ;
And besely gan for the soules praye
Of hem that yave him wherewith to scholaie,§
Of studie toke he moste cure and hede.
Not a word spake he more than was nede,
And that was said in forme and reverence,
And short and quike, and ful of high sentence.
Souning in moral vertue was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne and gladly teche."

In the Miller's Tale Chaucer gives us a sketch of another poor scholar Oxford. He lodged with a carpenter, and

"A chambre had he in that hostelerie,
Alone withouten any compaynie,
Ful fetisly 'ydight with herbés sweet."

His books great and small, and his astrological apparatus

* Outer short cloak.
† Was not sufficiently a man of the world to be fit for a secular occupation.
‡ Obtain. § To pursue his studies.

"On shelvés couched at his beddé's head,
His press ycovered with a falding red,
And all about there lay a gay sautrie
On which he made on nightés melodie
So swetély that all the chamber rung,
And *Angelus ad Virginem* he sung."

We give a typical illustration of the class from one of the characters in Dance of Death at the end of a Book of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the British Museum. It is described beneath as "Un Clerc." *

A Clerk.

One of this class was employed by every parish to perform certain duties on behalf of the parishioners, and to assist the clergyman in certain functions of his office. The Parish Clerk has survived the revolution which swept away the other minor ecclesiastical officials of the middle ages, and still has his legal status in the parish church. Probably many of our readers will be surprised to hear that the office is an ancient one, and will take interest in a few original extracts which throw light on the subject.

In the wills he frequently has a legacy left, together with the clergy—e.g., "Item I leave to my parish vicar iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$ Item I leave to my parish clerk xij$^{d.}$ Item I leave to every chaplain present at my obsequies and mass iiij$^{d.}$" (Will of John Brompton, of Beverley, merchant, 1443.)† Elizabeth del Hay, in 1434, leaves to "every priest ministering at my obsequies vi$^{d.}$; to every parish clerk iiij$^{d.}$; to minor clerks to each one j$^{d.}$" ‡ Hawisia Aske, of York, in 1450-1 A.D., leaves to the "parish chaplain of St. Michael iij$^{s.}$ iiij$^{d.}$; to every chaplain of the said church xx$^{d.}$; to

* For another good illustration of a clerk of time of Richard II. see the illumination of that king's coronation in the frontispiece of the MS. Royal, 14, E iv., where he seems to be in attendance on one of the bishops. He is habited in blue cassock, red liripipe, black urse, with penner and inkhorn.

† "Test. Ebor.," vol. ii. p. 98.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 38.

the parish clerk of the said church xx$^{d.}$; to the sub-clerk of the same church x$^{d.}$"* John Clerk, formerly chaplain of the chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, near York, in 1449, leaves to "the parish clerk of St. Olave, in the suburbs of York, xij$^{d.}$; to each of the two chaplains of the said church being present at my funeral and mass iiij$^{d.}$; to the parish clerk of the said church iiij$^{d.}$; to the sub-clerk of the said church ij$^{d.}$; among the little boys of the said church wearing surplices iiij$^{d.}$, to be distributed equally."† These extracts serve to indicate the clerical staff of the several churches mentioned.

From other sources we learn what his duties were. In 1540 the parish of Milend, near Colchester, was presented to the archdeacon by the rector because in the said church there was "nother clerke nor sexten to go withe him in tyme of visitacion [of the sick], nor to helpe him say masses, nor to rynge to servyce."‡ And in 1543 the Vicar of Kelveden, Essex, complains that there is not "caryed holy water,§ nor ryngyng to evensonge accordyng as the clerke shuld do, with other dutees to him belongyng."‖ In the York presentations we find a similar complaint at Wyghton in 1472; they present that the parish clerk does not perform his services as he ought, because when he ought to go with the vicar to visit the sick, the clerk absents himself, and sends a boy with the vicar.¶ The clerk might be a married man, for in 1416 Thomas Curtas, parish clerk of the parish of St. Thomas the Martyr, is presented, because with his wife he has hindered, and still hinders, the parish clerk of St. Mary Bishophill, York [in which parish he seems to have lived] from entering his house on the Lord's days with holy water, as is the custom of the city. Also it is complained that the said Thomas and his wife refuse to come to hear divine service at their parish church, and withdraw their oblat ions. In the Royal MS., 10, E iv., is a series of illustrations of a mediæval tale, which

* "Test. Ebor.," vol. ii. p. 143. † Ibid., vol. ii. p. 149.

‡ Archdeacon Hale's "Precedents in Criminal Causes," p. 113.

§ From the duty of carrying holy water, mentioned here and in other extracts, the clerk derived the name of *aqua bajulus*, by which he is often called, *e.g.*, in many of the places in Archdeacon Hale's "Precedents in Criminal Causes."

‖ Ibid., p. 122. ¶ York Fabric Rolls, p. 257. ** Ibid., p. 248.

turns on the adventures of a parish clerk, as he goes through the parish aspersing the people with holy water. Two of the pictures will suffice to show the costume and the holy water-pot and aspersoir, and to indicate

The Parish Clerk sprinkling the Cook.

how he went into all the rooms of the house—now into the kitchen sprinkling the cook, now into the hall sprinkling the lord and lady who are at breakfast. In the woodcut on p. 241, will be seen how he precedes an

The Parish Clerk sprinkling the Knight and Lady.

ecclesiastical procession, sprinkling the people on each side as he goes. The subsequent description (p. 221) of the parish clerk Absolon, by Chaucer, indicates that sometimes—perhaps on some special festivals—the clerk went about censing the people instead of sprinkling them.

To continue the notes of a parish clerk's duties, gathered from the churchwardens' presentations: at Wyghton, in 1510, they find "a faut with our parish clerk yt he hath not done his dewtee to ye kirk, yt is to say, ryngyng of ye morne bell and ye evyn bell; and also another fawt [which may explain the former one], he fyndes yt pour mene pays hym not his wages."* At Cawood, in 1510 A.D., we find it the duty of the parish clerk "to keepe ye clok and ryng corfer [curfew] at dew tymes appointed by ye parrish, and also to ryng ye day bell."† He had his desk in church near the clergyman, perhaps on the opposite side of the chancel, as we gather from a presentation from St. Maurice, York, in 1416, that the desks in the choir on both sides, especially where the parish chaplain and parish clerk are accustomed to sit, need repair.‡ A story in Matthew Paris§ tells us what his office was worth: "It happened that an agent of the pope met a petty clerk of a village carrying water in a little vessel, with a sprinkler and some bits of bread given him for having sprinkled some holy water, and to him the deceitful Roman thus addressed himself: 'How much does the profit yielded to you by this church amount to in a year?' To which the clerk, ignorant of the Roman's cunning, replied, 'To twenty shillings I think;' whereupon the agent demanded the per-centage the pope had just demanded on all ecclesiastical benefices. And to pay that small sum this poor man was compelled to hold schools for many days, and by selling his books in the precincts, to drag on a half-starved life." The parish clerks of London formed a guild, which used to exhibit miracle plays at its annual feast, on the green, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell. The parish clerks always took an important part in the conduct of the miracle plays; and it was natural that when they united their forces in such an exhibition on behalf of their guild the result should be an exhibition of unusual excellence. Stow tells us that in 1391 the guild performed before the king and queen and whole court three days successively, and that in 1409 they produced a play of the creation of the world, whose representation occupied

* York Fabric Rolls, p. 265.
† Ibid., p. 266.
‡ Ibid., p. 248.
§ Bohn's Edition, ii. 388.

eight successive days. The Passion-play, still exhibited every ten years at Ober-Ammergau, has made all the world acquainted with the kind of exhibition in which our forefathers delighted. These miracle-plays still survive also in Spain, and probably in other Roman Catholic countries.

Chaucer has not failed to give us, in his wonderful gallery of contemporary characters (in the Miller's Tale), a portrait of the parish clerk :—

"Now was ther of that churche a parish clerk,
The which that was ycleped Absolon.
Crulle was his here,* and as the gold it shon,
And strouted as a fanne large and brode;
Ful streight and even lay his jolly shode.
His rode† was red, his eyen grey as goos,
With Poules windowes carven on his shoos,
In hosen red he went ful fetisly,‡
Yclad he was ful smal and proprely,
All in a kirtle of a light waget,§
Ful faire and thicke ben the pointes set.
An' therupon he had a gay surplise,
As white as is the blossome upon the rise.‖
A mery child he was, so God me save,
Wel coud he leten blod, and clippe, and shave,
And make a chartre of lond and a quitance;
In twenty manere could he trip and dance,
(After the scole of Oxenforde tho)
And playen songes on a smal ribible,¶
Therto he song, sometime a loud quinible,¶
And as wel could he play on a giterne.
In all the toun n'as brewhouse ne taverne
That he ne visited with his solas,
Ther as that any galliard tapstere was.
This Absolon, that joly was and gay,
Goth with a censor on the holy day,
Censing the wives of the parish faste,**
And many a lovely loke he on hem caste
* * * * *
Sometime to shew his lightnesse and maistrie,
He plaieth Herode on a skaffold hie."

* Hair. † Complexion. ‡ Neatly.
§ *Watchet*, a kind of cloth. ‖ Small twigs or trees. ¶ Musical instruments.
** As the parish clerk of St. Mary, York, used to go to the people's houses with holy water on Sundays.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARISH PRIEST.

WE shall obtain further help to a comprehension of the character and position, and popular estimation of the mediæval seculars—the parish priests—if we compare them first with the regulars—the monks and friars—and then with their modern representatives the parochial clergy. One great point of difference between the regulars and the seculars was that the monks and friars affected asceticism, and the parish priests did not. The monks and friars had taken the three vows of absolute poverty, voluntary celibacy, and implicit obedience to the superior of the convent. The parish priests, on the contrary, had their benefices and their private property; they long resisted the obligations of celibacy, which popes and councils tried to lay upon them; they were themselves spiritual rulers in their own parishes, subject only to the constitutional rule of the bishop. The monks professed to shut themselves up from the world, and to mortify their bodily appetites in order the better, as they considered, to work out their own salvation. The friars professed to be the schools of the prophets, to have the spirit of Nazariteship, to be followers of Elijah and John Baptist, to wear sackcloth and live hardly, and go about as preachers of repentance. The secular clergy had no desire and felt no need to shut themselves up from the world like monks; they did not feel called upon, with the friars, to imitate John Baptist, "neither eating nor drinking," seeing that a greater than he came "eating and drinking" and living the common life of men. They rather looked upon Christian priests and clerks as occupying the place of the priests and Levites of the ancient church, set apart to minister in holy

things like them, but not condemned to poverty or asceticism any more than they were. The difference told unfavourably for the parish clergy in the popular estimation; for the unreasoning crowd is always impressed by the dramatic exhibition of austerity of life and the profession of extraordinary sanctity, and undervalues the virtue which is only seen in the godly regulation of a life of ordinary every-day occupations. The lord monks were the aristocratic order of the clergy. Their convents were wealthy and powerful, their minsters and houses were the glory of the land, their officials ranked with the nobles, and the greatness of the whole house reflected dignity upon each of its monks.

The friars were the popular order of the clergy. The Four Orders were great organizations of itinerant preachers; powerful through their learning and eloquence, their organization, and the Papal support; cultivating the favour of the people by which they lived by popular eloquence and demagogic arts.

Between these two great classes stood the secular clergy, upon whom the practical pastoral work of the country fell. A numerous body, but disorganized; diocesan bishops acting as statesmen, and devolving their ecclesiastical duties on suffragans; rectors refusing to take priests' orders, and living like laymen; the majority of the parishes practically served by parochial chaplains; every gentleman having his own chaplain dependent on his own pleasure; hundreds of priests engaged in secular occupations.

Between the secular priests and the friars, as we have seen, pp. 46 *et seq.*, there was a direct rivalry and a great deal of bitter feeling. The friars accused the parish priests of neglect of duty and ignorance in spiritual things and worldliness of life, and came into their parishes whenever they pleased, preaching and visiting from house to house, hearing confessions and prescribing penances, and carrying away the offerings of the people. The parish priests looked upon the friars as intruders in their parishes, and accused them of setting their people against them and undermining their spiritual influence; of corrupting discipline, by receiving the confessions of those who were ashamed to confess to their pastor who knew them, and enjoining light penances in order to encourage people to come to them; and lastly, of using all the arts of low popularity-seeking in order to extract gifts and offerings from their people.

We have already given one contemporary illustration of this from Chaucer, at p. 46 *ante*. We add one or two extracts from Piers Plough man's Vision. In one place of his elaborate allegory he introduces Wrath saying :—

"I am Wrath, quod he, I was sum tyme a frere,
And the convent's gardyner for to graff impes*
On limitoures and listers lesyngs I imped
Till they bere leaves of low speech lordes to please
And sithen thier blossomed abrode in bower to hear shriftes.
And now is fallen therof a fruite, that folk have well liever
Shewen her shriftes to hem than shryve hem to ther parsones.
And now, parsons have perceyved that freres part with hem,
These possessioners preache and depravé freres,
And freres find hem in default, as folk beareth witness."—v. 143.

And again on the same grievance of the friars gaining the confidence of the people away from their parish priests—

"And well is this y-holde: in parisches of Engelonde,
For persones and parish prestes: that shulde the peple shryve,
Ben curatoures called: to know and to hele.
Alle that ben her parishens: penaunce to enjoine,
And shulden be ashamed in her shrifte: an shame maketh hem wende,
And fleen to the freres: as fals folke to Westmynstere,
That borwith and bereth it thider."†

When we compare the mediæval seculars with the modern clergy, we find that the modern clergy form a much more homogeneous body. In the mediæval seculars the bishop was often one who had been a monk or friar the cathedral clergy in many dioceses were regulars. Then, besides the parsons and parochial chaplains, who answer to our incumbents and curates there were the chantry and gild priests, and priests who "lived at rovers on trentals;" the great number of domestic chaplains must have considerably affected the relations of the parochial clergy to the gentry. Of the inferior ecclesiastical people, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, readers exorcists, and ostiaries it is probable that in an ordinary parish there

* Grafted lies.

† As debtors flee to sanctuary at Westminster, and live on what they have borrowed and set their creditors at defiance.

uld be only a parish clerk and a boy-acolyte; in larger churches an tiary besides, answering to our verger, and in cathedrals a larger staff minor officials; but it is doubtful whether there was any real working ff of sub-deacons, readers, exorcists, any more than we in these days ve a working order of deacons; men passed through those orders on eir way upwards to the priesthood, but made no stay in them.

But a still greater difference between the mediæval secular clergy and e modern parochial clergy is in their relative position with respect to ciety generally. The homogeneous body of "the bishops and clergy" e the only representatives of a clergy in the eyes of modern English ciety; the relative position of the secular clergy in the eyes of the diæval world was less exclusive and far inferior. The seculars were ly one order of the clergy, sharing the title with monks and friars, and ey were commonly held as inferior to the one in wealth and learning, d to the other in holiness and zeal.

Another difference between the mediæval seculars and the modern rgy is in the superior independence of the latter. The poor parochial aplain was largely dependent for his means of living on the fees and erings of his parishioners. The domestic chaplain was only an upper vant. Even the country incumbent, in those feudal days when the lord the manor was a petty sovereign, was very much under the influence of e local magnate.

In some primitive little villages, where the lord of the manor continues be the sovereign of his village, it is still the fashion for the clergyman not begin service till the squire comes. The Book of the Knight of La ur Landry gives two stories which serve to show that the deference of e clergyman to the squire was sometimes carried to very excessive gths in the old days of which we are writing. "I have herde of a knight d of a lady that in her youthe delited hem to rise late. And so they d longe, tille many tymes that thei lost her masse, and made other of parisshe to lese it, for the knight was lorde and patron of the chirche, l therfor the priest durst not disobeye hym. And so it happed that a Sunday the knight sent unto the chirche that thei shulde abide hym. d whane he come, it was passed none, wherfor thir might not that day

have no masse, for every man saide it was passed tyme of the day, an therfor thei durst not singe. And so that Sunday the knight, the lad and alle the parisshe was without masse, of the whiche the pepelle were so but thir must needs suffre." And on a night there came a vision to th parson, and the same night the knight and lady dreamed a dream. An the parson came to the knight's house, and he told him his vision, an the priest his, of which they greatly marvelled, for their dreams were lik "And the priest said unto the knight, 'There is hereby in a forest an ho ermyte that canne telle us what this avision menithe.' And than thei yede hym, and tolde it hym fro point to point, and as it was. And the wise ho man, the which was of blessed lyff, expounded and declared her avision.'

The other story is of "a ladi that dwelled faste by the chirche, th toke every day so long time to make her redy that it made every Sund the person of the chirche and the parisshenes to abide after her. An she happed to abide so longe on a Sunday that it was fer dayes, an every man said to other, 'This day we trow shall not this lady be kem and arraied.'"

The condition of the parochial clergy being such as we have sketche it might seem as if the people stood but a poor chance of being Chr tianly and virtuously brought up. But when we come to inquire into th part of the question the results are unexpectedly satisfactory. The pries in charge of parishes seem, on the whole, to have done their du better than we should have anticipated; and the people generally h a knowledge of the great truths of religion, greater probably than now generally possessed—it was taught to them by the eye in scu tures, paintings, stained glass, miracle plays; these religious truths w probably more constantly in their minds and on their lips than is t case now—they occur much more frequently in popular literature; a though the people were rude and coarse and violent and sensual enou yet it is probable that religion was a greater power among them ge rally than it is now; there was probably more crime, but less vic above all, an elevated sanctity in individuals was probably more comm in those times than in these.

One interesting evidence of the actual mode of pastoral ministrations those days is the handbooks, which were common enough, teach- the parish priest his duties. The Early English Text Society has ely done us a service by publishing one of these manuals of "Instruc- ns for Parish Priests," which will enable us to give some notes on the ject. "Great numbers," says the editor, "of independent works of s nature were produced in the Middle Ages. There is probably not a guage or dialect in Europe that has not now, or had not once, several atises of this nature among its early literature. The growth of languages, Reformation, and the alteration in clerical education consequent on t great revolution, have caused a great part of them to perish or become gotten. A relic of this sort fished up from the forgotten past is very ful to us as a help towards understanding the sort of life our fathers ed. To many it will seem strange that these directions, written without least thought of hostile criticism, when there was no danger in plain aking, and no inducements to hide or soften down, should be so free m superstition. We have scarcely any of the nonsense which some ple still think made up the greater part of the religion of the Middle es, but instead thereof good sound morality, such as it would be pleasant hear preached at the present day."

The book in question is by John Myrk, a canon regular of St. Austin, of leshall, in Shropshire; the beautiful ruins of his monastery may still be n in the grounds of the Duke of Sutherland's shooting-box at Lilleshall. tells us that he translated it from a Latin book called "Pars Oculi." is worthy of note that a former prior of Lilleshall, Johannes Miræus, l written a work on the same subject, called "Manuale Sacerdotis," which John Myrk's bears much resemblance, both in subject and treat- nt. The editor's sketch of the argument of the "Instructions to ish Priests" will help us to give a sufficient idea of its contents for present purpose.

The author begins by telling the parish priest what sort of man he self should be. Not ignorant, because

> "Whenne the blynde ledeth the blynde
> Into the dyche they fallen both."

He must himself be an example to his people :—

"What thee nedeth hem to teche
And whyche thou muste thy self be.
For lytel is worth thy prechynge
If thou be of evyle lyvynge."

He must be chaste, eschew lies and oaths, drunkenness, gluttony, prid sloth, and envy. Must keep from taverns, trading, wrestling, and shootin and the like manly sports ; from hunting, hawking, and dancing. Mu not wear cutted clothes or pyked shoes, or dagger, but wear becomi clothes, and shave his crown and beard. Must be given to hospitality, both poor and rich, read his psalter, and remember doomsday ; return good f evil, eschew jesting and ribaldry, despise the world, and follow after virtu

The priest must not be content with knowing his own duties. H must be prepared to teach those under his charge all that Christian m and women should do and believe. We are told that when any one h done a sin he must not continue long with it on his conscience, but straight to the priest and confess it, lest he should forget before the gre shriving time at Eastertide. Pregnant women, especially, are to go their shrift, and receive the Holy Communion at once. Our instructor very strict on the duties of midwives—women they were really in thc days, and properly licensed to their office by the ecclesiastical authoriti They are on no account to permit children to die unbaptized. If the be no priest at hand, they are to administer that sacrament themselves they see danger of death. They must be especially careful to use t right form of words, such as our Lord taught ; but it does not mat whether they say them in Latin or English, or whether the Latin be go or bad, so that the intention be to use the proper words. The water, a the vessel that contained it, are not to be again employed in domes use, but to be burned or carried to the church and cast into the font. no one else be at hand, the parents themselves may baptize their childr All infants are to be christened at Easter and Whitsuntide in the new blessed fonts, if there have not been necessity to administer the Sacram before. Godparents are to be careful to teach their godchildren the *Pa Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo ;* and are not to be sponsors to their g children at their Confirmation, for they have already contracted a spirit

lationship. Before weddings banns are to be asked on three holidays, d all persons who contract irregular marriages, and the priests, clerks, d others that help thereat, are cursed for the same. The real presence the body and blood of our Saviour in the Sacrament of the Altar is to fully held; but the people are to bear in mind that the wine and water ven them after they have received Communion is not a part of the crament. It is an important thing to behave reverently in church, for e church is God's house, not a place for idle prattle. When people go ere they are not to jest, or loll against the pillars and walls, but kneel wn on the floor and pray to their Lord for mercy and grace. When the ospel is read they are to stand up, and sign themselves with the cross; d when they hear the Sanctus bell ring, they are to kneel and worship eir Maker in the Blessed Sacrament. All men are to show reverence hen they see the priest carrying the Host to the sick. He is to teach em the "Our Father," and "Hail, Mary," and "I believe," of which etrical versions are given, with a short exposition of the Creed.

The author gives some very interesting instructions about churchyards, hich show that they were sometimes treated with shameful irreverence. was not for want of good instructions that our ancestors, in the days of e Plantagenets, played at rustic games, and that the gentry held their anorial courts, over the sleeping-places of the dead.

Of witchcraft we hear surprisingly little. Myrk's words are such that e might almost think he had some sceptical doubts on the subject. Not with usury: the taking interest for money, or lending anything to get rofit thereby, is, we are shown, "a synne full grevus."

After these and several more general instructions of a similar character, e author gives a very good commentary on the Creed, the Sacraents, the Commandments, and the deadly sins. The little tract ends ith a few words of instruction to priests as to the "manner of saying ass, and of giving Holy Communion to the sick." On several subjects e author gives very detailed instructions and advice as to the best way f dealing with people, and his counsels are so right and sensible, that ey might well be read now, not out of mere curiosity, but for profit. Here is his conclusion, as a specimen of the English and versification:—

"Hyt ys I-made hem* to schonne
That have no bokes of here† owne,
And other that beth of mene lore
That wolde fayn conne‡ more,
And those that here-in learnest most,
Thonke yerne the Holy Gost,
That geveth wyt to eche mon
To do the gode that he con,
And by hys travayle and hys dede
Geveth hym heven to hys mede;
The mede and the joye of heven lyht
God us graunte for hys myht. Amen."

That these instructions were not thrown away upon the mediæval paris priests we may infer from Chaucer's beautiful description of the poor pa son of a town, who was one of his immortal band of Canterbury Pilgrim which we here give as a fitting conclusion of this first part of our subject:-

"A good man there was of religioun,
That was a poure persone of a toun;
But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
That Criste's gospel trewely wolde preche,
His parishens devoutly wolde he teche.
Benigne he was and wonder diligent,
And in adversite ful patient;
And such he was yproved often sithes.
Full loth were he to cursen for his tithes,
But rather wolde he given out of doubte
Unto his poure parishens about,
Of his offering and eke of his substance.
He could in litel thing have suffisance.
Wide was his parish, and houses fer asunder,
But he ne left nought for no rain ne thunder,
In sikenesse and in mischief to visite
The farthest in his parish much and lite,§
Upon his fete, and in his hand a staff.
This noble ensample to his sheep he gaf‖
That first he wrought, and afterward he taught.
Out of the gospel he the wordes caught,
And this figure he added yet thereto,
That if gold rusté what should iren do?

* Them. † Their. ‡ Know.
§ Great and little. ‖ Gave.

For if a priest be foul, on whom we trust,
No wonder is a lèwéd man to rust;
Well ought a preest ensample for to give,
By his clenenesse how his shepe shulde live.
He sette not his benefice to hire,
And lefte his sheep accumbered in the mire,
And ran unto London, unto Seint Poules,
To seeken him a chanterie for souls,
Or with a brotherhede to be withold,
But dwelt at home and kepté well his fold.
He was a shepherd and no mercenare;
And though he holy were and vertuous,
He was to sinful men not despitous, *
Ne of his speché dangerous ne digne,†
But in his teaching discrete and benigne.
To drawen folk to heaven with fairénesse,
By good ensample was his businesse.
But it were any persone obstinat,
What so he were of highe or low estate,
Him wolde he snibben‡ sharply for the nones,
A better preest I trow that nowhere none is.
He waited after no pomp ne reverence,
Ne maked him no spiced§ conscience,
But Christés lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taught, but first he followed it himselve."

Thus, monk, and friar, and hermit, and recluse, and rector, and chantry riest, played their several parts in mediæval society, until the Reformaon came and swept away the religious orders and their houses, the hantry priests and their superstitions, and the colleges of seculars, ith all their good and evil, and left only the parish churches and the arish priests remaining, stripped of half their tithe, and insufficient in umber, in learning, and in social *status* to fulfil the office of the ministry f God among the people. Since then, for three centuries the people ave multiplied, and the insufficiency of the ministry has been proporonately aggravated. It has been left to our day to complete the work of e Reformation by multiplying bishops and priests, and creating an order deacons, re-distributing the ancient revenues and supplying what more needed, and by effecting a general reorganization of the ecclesiastical tablishment to adapt it to the actual spiritual needs of the people.

* Angry. † Difficult nor proud. ‡ Smite, rebuke. § Scrupulous.

CHAPTER IV.

CLERICAL COSTUME.

WE proceed to give some notes on the costume of the secular clergy first the official costume which they wore when performing th public functions of their order, and next the ordinary costum in which they walked about their parishes and took part in the daily affai of the mediæval society of which they formed so large and important part. The first branch of this subject is one of considerable magnitude it can hardly be altogether omitted in such a series of papers as thi but our limited space requires that we should deal with it as briefly a may be.

Representations of the pope occur not infrequently in ancient painting His costume is that of an archbishop, only that instead of the usual mit he wears a conical tiara. In later times a cross with three crossba has been used by artists as a symbol of the pope, with two crossba of a patriarch, and with one crossbar of an archbishop; but Dr. Roc assures us that the pope never had a pastoral staff of this shape, but of on crossbar only; that patriarchs of the Eastern Church used the cross of tw bars, but never those of the Western Church; and that the example Thomas-à-Becket with a cross of two bars, in Queen Mary's Psalt (Royal, 2 B. vii.) is a unique example (and possibly an error of th artist's). A representation of Pope Leo III. from a contemporary pictu is engraved in the "Annales Archæologique," vol. viii. p. 257; anoth very complete and clear representation of the pontifical costume of th time of Innocent III. is engraved by Dr. Rock ("Church of our Fathers p. 467) from a fresco painting at Subiaco, near Rome. Another represent

ion, of late thirteenth-century date, is given in the famous MS. called the Psalter of Queen Mary," in the British Museum (Royal, 2 B. vii.); there he pope is in nothing more than ordinary episcopal costume—alb, tunic, hasuble, without the pall—and holds his cross-staff of only one bar in is right hand, and his canonical tiara has one crown round the base. Beside him stands a bishop in the same costume, except that he wears

Pope, Cardinal, and Bishop.

he mitre and holds a crook. A good fourteenth-century representation of pope and cardinals is in the MS. August. V. f. 459. We give a woodcut f the fifteenth century, from a MS. life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in the British Museum (Julius E. iv. f. 207); the subject is the resentation of the pilgrim earl to the pope, and it enables us to bring nto one view the costumes of pope, cardinal, and bishop. A later picture

of considerable artistic merit may be found in Hans Burgmair's "De Weise König," where the pope, officiating at a royal marriage, is habited i a chasuble, and has the three crowns on his tiara.

The cardinalate is not an ecclesiastical "order." Originally the nam was applied to the priests of the chief churches of Rome, who forme the chapter of the Bishop of Rome. In later times they were th princes of the papal sovereignty, and the dignity was conferred nc only upon the highest order of the hierarchy, but upon priests, deacons, and even upon men who had only taken minor orders to qualify them selves for holding office in the papal kingdom. The red hat, which becam their distinctive symbol, is said to have been given them first by Innc cent VI. at the Council of Lyons in 1245; and De Curbio says they firs wore it in 1246, at the interview between the pope and Louis IX. c France. A representation of it may be seen in the MS. Royal, 16 G. vi which is engraved in the "Pictorial History of England," vol. i. 86 Another very clear and good representation of the costume of a cardin is in the plate in Hans Burgmair's "Der Weise König," already me tioned; a group of them is on the right side of the drawing, each with fur-lined hood on his head, and his hat over the hood. It is not the h which is peculiar to cardinals, but the colour of it, and the number of i tassels. Other ecclesiastics wore the hat of the same shape, but only cardinal wears it of scarlet. Moreover, a priest wore only one tassel each string, a bishop three, a cardinal seven. It was not the hat on which was scarlet. Wolsey, we read, was in the habit of dressing entire in scarlet for his ordinary costume. In the Decretals of Pope Gregory, Roya 10 E. iv. f. 3 v., are representations of cardinals in red gown and hoc and hat. On the following page they are represented, in *pontificalibus*.

The archbishop wore the habit of a bishop, his differences being in th crosier and pall.† His crozier had a cross head instead of a curved hea

* Cardinal Otho, the Papal legate in England in the time of Henry III., was a deac (Matthew Paris, Sub. Ann. 1237); Cardinal Pandulph, in King John's time, was sub-deacon (R. Wendover, Sub. Ann. 1212).

† There is a very fine drawing of an archbishop in *pontificalibus* of the latter part the thirteenth century in the MS. Royal, 2 A. f. 219 v.

ke the bishop's. Over the chasuble he wore the pall, which was a flat rcular band, or collar, placed loosely round the shoulders, with long ends anging down behind and before, made of lambs' wool, and marked with number of crosses. Dr. Rock has engraved* two remarkably interesting arly representations of archbishops of Ravenna, in which a very early form the pontifical garments is given, viz., the sandals, alb, stole, tunic, chaible, pall, and tonsure. They are not represented with either mitre or aff. Other representations of archbishops may be found of the eleventh entury in the Bayeux tapestry, and of the thirteenth in the Royal MS., B. vii. In the Froissart MS., Harl. 4,380, at f. 170, is a fifteenth-century epresentation of the Archbishop of Canterbury in ordinary dress—a avender-coloured gown and red liripipe.

The bishop wore the same habit as the priest, with the addition of andals, gloves, a ring, the pastoral staff with a curved head, and the mitre. The chasuble was only worn when celebrating the Holy Communion; on ny other ceremonial occasion the cope was worn, *e.g.*, when in choir, as in ne woodcut on p. 197 : or when preaching, as in a picture in the Harl. MS. 319, engraved in the "Pictorial History of England," vol. i. 806; or when ttending parliament. In illuminated MSS. bishops are very commonly epresented dressed in alb and cope only, and this seems to have been neir most usual habit. If the bishop were a monk or friar he wore the ope over the robe proper to his order. We might multiply indefinitely eferences to representations of bishops and other ecclesiastics in the illuminated MS. We will content ourselves with one reference to a beautiully drawn figure in the psalter of the close of the 14th century (Harl. ,897, f. 380). In the early fourteenth-century MS. (Royal, 14 E. i. at ff. 16 and 25), we find two representations of a bishop in what we nay suppose was his ordinary unofficial costume; he wears a blue-grey obe and hood with empty falling sleeves, through which appear the blue eeves of his under robe; it is the ordinary civil and clerical costume of ne period, but he is marked out as a bishop by a white mitre. In the ontifical of the middle of the fifteenth century, already referred to (Eger-

* "Church of our Fathers," i. 319.

ton, 1067) at f. 186 in the representation of the ceremony of the feet-washing the bishop in a long black sleeveless robe* over a white alb, and a biretta

The earliest form of the mitre was that of a simple cap, like a skull-cap of which there is a representation, giving in many respects a clear and elaborate picture of the episcopal robes, in a woodcut of St. Dunstan in the MS. Cotton, Claudius A. iii.† In this early shape it has already the infulæ—two narrow bands hanging down behind. In the twelfth century it is in the form of a large cap, with a depression in the middle, which produces two blunt horns at the sides. There is a good representation of this in the MS. Cotton, Nero C. iv. f. 34, which has been engraved by Strutt, Shaw, and Dr. Rock.

In the Harl. MS. 5,102, f. 17, is a picture of the entombment of an archbishop, in which is well shown the transition shape of the mitre from the twelfth century, already described, to the cleft and pointed shape which was used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The depression is here deepened into a partial cleft, and the mitre is put on so that the horns come before and behind, instead of at the sides, but the horns are still blunt and rounded. The archbishop's gloves in this picture are white, like the mitre, and in shape are like mittens, *i.e.*, not divided into fingers.

The shape in the thirteenth and fourteenth century presented a stiff low triangle in front and behind, with a gap between them. It is well shown in a MS. of the close of the twelfth century, Harl. 2,800, f. 6, and, in shape a little further developed, in the pictures in the Royal MS., 2 B. vii already noticed. In the fifteenth century the mitre began to be made taller, and with curved sides, as seen in the beautiful woodcut of a bishop and his canons in choir given in our last chapter, p. 197. The latest example in the English Church is in the brass of Archbishop Harsnett, in Chigwell Church, in which also occur the latest examples of the alb, stole dalmatic, and cope.

The pastoral staff also varied in shape at different times. The earliest

* In a Spansh Book of Hours (Add. 1819—3), at f. 86 v., is a representation of an ecclesiastic in a similar robe of dark purple with a hood, he wears a cardinal's hat and holds a papal tiara in his hand.

† Engraved by Dr. Rock, ii. 97.

xamples of it are in the representations of St. Mark and St. Luke,* in the Gospels of MacDurnan," in the Lambeth Library, a work of the middle f the ninth century. St. Luke's staff is short, St. Mark's longer than himelf; in both cases the staff terminates with a plain, slightly reflexed curve f about three-fourths of a circle. Some actual examples of the metal eads of these Celtic pastoral staves remain; one is engraved in the Archæologia Scotica," vol. ii., another is in the British Museum; that of ne abbots of Clonmacnoise, and that of the ancient bishops of Waterford, re in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. They were all brought ogether in 1863 in the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington. One of ne earliest English representations of the staff is in the picture of the conecration of a church, in a MS. of the ninth century, in the Rouen Library, ngraved in the "Archæologia," vol. xxv. p. 17, in the "Pictorial History f England," and by Dr. Rock, ii. p. 24. Here the staff is about the ength of an ordinary walking-stick, and is terminated by a round knob.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, is represented on his great seal with a short taff, with a tau-cross or crutch head. An actually existing staff of this hape, which belonged to Gerard, Bishop of Limoges, who died in 1022, s engraved in the "Annales Archæologique," vol. x. p. 176. The staves epresented in illuminations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have sually a plain spiral curve of rather more than a circle;† in later times hey were ornamented with foliage, and sometimes with statuettes, and vere enamelled and jewelled. Numerous representations and actual xamples exist; some may be seen in the South Kensington Museum. From early in the fourteenth century downward, a napkin of linen or silk s often found attached by one corner to the head of the staff, whose origin nd meaning seem to be undetermined.

The official costume of the remaining orders, together with the symbols ignificant of their several offices, are well brought out in the degradation of W. Sawtre, already given at p. 214.

Some of the vestments there mentioned may need a few words of explana-

* Engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vii. 17 and 19.

† A plain straight staff is sometimes seen in illuminations being put into a bishop's grave; such staves have been actually found in the coffins of bishops.

tion. The alb was a kind of long coat with close fitting sleeves made o white* linen, and usually, at least during the celebration of divine service ornamented with four to six square pieces of cloth of gold, or other rich stuff, or of goldsmith's work, which were placed on the skirt before and behind, on the wrist of each sleeve, and on the back and breast. The dalmatic of the deacon was a kind of tunic, reaching generally a little below the knees, and slit some way up the sides, and with short, broad sleeves ; it was usually ornamented with a broad hem, which passed round the side slits. The sub-deacon's tunicle was like the dalmatic, but rather shorter, and less ornamented. The cope was a kind of cloak, usually o rich material, fastened across the chest by a large brooch ; it was worn by priests in choir and in processions, and on other occasions of state and ceremony. The chasuble was the Eucharistic vestment ; originally it was a circle of rich cloth with a slit in the middle, through which the head was passed, and then it fell in ample folds all round the figure. Gradually it was made oval in shape, continually decreasing in width, so as to leave less of the garment to encumber the arms. In its modern shape i consists of two stiff rectangular pieces of cloth, one piece falling before, the other behind, and fastened together at the shoulders of the wearer. The ancient inventories of cathedrals, abbeys, and churches show us that the cope and chasuble were made in every colour, of every rich material, and sometimes embroidered and jewelled. Indeed, all the official robes of the clergy were of the costliest material and most beautiful workmanship which could be obtained. England was celebrated for its skill in the arts employed in their production, and an anecdote of the time of Henry III shows us that the English ecclesiastical vestments excited admiration and cupidity even at Rome. Their richness had nothing to do with personal pride or luxury on the part of the priests. They were not the property of the clergy, but were generally presented to the churches, to which they belonged in perpetuity ; and they were made thus costly on the principle of honouring the divine worship. As men gave their costliest material and

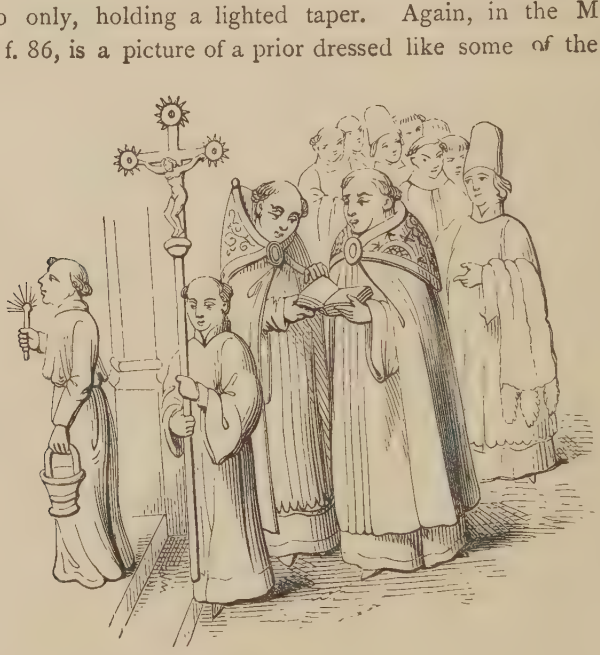
* The alb was often of coloured materials. We find coloured albs in the mediæval inventories. In Louandre's "Arts Somptuaires," vol. i. xi. siecle, is a picture of the canons of St. Martin of Tours in blue albs. Their costume is altogether worth notice.

blest Art for the erection of the place in which it was offered, so also for e appliances used in its ministration, and the robes of the ministrants.

In full sacerdotal habit the priests wore the apparelled alb, and stole, d over that the dalmatic, and either the cope or the chasuble over all, th the amys thrown back like a hood over the cope or chasuble. Repre-ntations of priests *in pontificalibus* abound in illuminated MSS., and in eir monumental effigies, to such an extent that we need hardly quote any rticular examples. Representations of the inferior orders are compara-ely rare. Examples of deacons may be found engraved in Dr. Rock's Church of our Fathers," i. 376, 378, 379, 443, and 444. Two others of rly fourteenth-century date may be found in the Add. MS. 10,294, f. 72, e wearing a dalmatic of cloth of gold, the other of scarlet, over the alb. wo others of the latter part of the fourteenth century are seen in King ichard II.'s Book of Hours (Dom. A. xvii. f. 176), one in blue dalmatic broidered with gold, the other red embroidered with gold. A monu-ental effigy of a deacon under a mural arch at Avon Dassett, Warwick-ire, was referred to by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in a recent lecture at the rchitectural Museum, South Kensington. The effigy, which is of the irteenth century, is in alb, stole, and dalmatic. We are indebted to r. Bloxam for a note of another mutilated effigy of a deacon of the four-enth century among the ruins of Furness Abbey; he is habited in the b only, with a girdle round the middle, whose tasselled knobs hang down front. The stole is passed across the body from the left shoulder, and fastened together at the right hip.

Dr. Rock, vol. i. p. 384, engraves a very good representation of a ninth-ntury sub-deacon in his tunicle, holding a pitcher in one hand and an npty chalice in the other; and in vol. ii. p. 89, an acolyte, in what ems to be a surplice, with a scarlet hood—part of his ordinary costume over it, the date of the drawing being *cir.* 1395 A.D. We have already oted the costume of an ostiary at p. 215. In the illuminations we equently find an inferior minister attending upon a priest when engaged his office, but in many cases it is difficult to determine whether he deacon, sub-deacon, or acolyte, *e.g.*—in the early fourteenth-century S., Add. 10,294, at f. 72, is a priest officiating at a funeral, attended by a

minister, who is habited in a pink under robe—his ordinary dress—an over it a short white garment with wide loose sleeves, which may be eithe a deacon's dalmatic, or a sub-deacon's tunic, or an acolyte's surplice. I the Add. MS. 10,293, at f. 154, is a representation of a priest celebratin mass in a hermitage, with a minister kneeling behind him, habited in white alb only, holding a lighted taper. Again, in the MS. Roya 14 E. iii. f. 86, is a picture of a prior dressed like some of the canons i



Coronation Procession of Charles V. of France.

our woodcut from Richard II.'s Book of Hours, in a blue under rob white surplice, and red stole crossed over the breast, and his furred hoc on his head; he is baptizing a heathen king, and an attendant ministe who is dressed in the ordinary secular habit of the time, stands besid holding the chrismatory. In the same history of Richard Earl of Warwi which we have already quoted, there is at f. 213 v., a boy in a sho surplice with a censer. In the early fourteenth-century MS., Roy 14 E. iii. at f. 84 v., is a picture of a bishop anointing a king;

tendant minister, who carries a holy water vessel and aspersoir, is essed in a surplice over a pink tunic. The surplice is found in almost many and as different shapes in the Middle Ages as now; sometimes ith narrow sleeves and tight up to the neck; sometimes with shorter and ider sleeves and falling low at the neck; sometimes longer and sometimes orter in the skirt; never, however, so long as altogether to hide the ssock beneath. In addition to the references already given, it may be fficient to name as further authorities for ecclesiastical costumes gene-lly :—for Saxon times, the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, engraved in e Archæologia; for the thirteenth century, Queen Mary's Psalter, Royal, B. vii.; for the fourteenth, Royal, 20, c. vii.; for the fifteenth century, ydgate's "Life of St. Edmund;" for the sixteenth century, Hans Burg-aier's "Der Weise König," and the various works on sepulchral monu-ents and monumental brasses.

The accompanying woodcut from Col. Johnes's Froissart, vol. i. p. 635, presenting the coronation procession of Charles V. of France, will help to exhibit some of the orders of the clergy with their proper costume d symbols. First goes the aquabajalus, in alb, sprinkling holy water; en a cross-bearer in cassock and surplice; then two priests, in cassock, rplice, and cope; then follows a canon in his cap (biretta), with his red amys over his arm.*

But the clergy wore these robes only when actually engaged in some icial act. What was their ordinary costume is generally little known, d it is a part of the subject in which we are especially interested in these pers. From the earliest times of the English Church downwards it was nsidered by the rulers of the Church that clergymen ought to be dis-guished from laymen not only by the tonsure, but also by their dress. e do not find that any uniform habit was prescribed to them, such as tinguished the regular orders of monks and friars from the laity, and m one another; but we gather from the canons of synods, and the unctions of bishops, that the clergy were expected to wear their clothes

* For another ecclesiastical procession which shows very clearly the costume of the ous orders of clergy, see Achille Jubinal's "Anciennes Tapisseries," plate ii.

not too gay in colour, and not too fashionably cut; that they were abstain from wearing ornaments or carrying arms; and that their hor furniture was to be in the same severe style. We also gather from th frequent repetition of canons on the subject, and the growing earnestne of their tone, that these injunctions were very generally disregarded. W need not take the reader through the whole series of authorities whi may be found in the various collections of councils; a single quot tion from the injunctions of John (Stratford) Archbishop of Canterbur A.D. 1342, will suffice to give us a comprehensive sketch of the gene contents of the whole series.

"The external costume often shows the internal character and con tion of persons; and though the behaviour of clerks ought to be example and pattern of the laity, yet the abuse of clerks, which has gain ground more than usually in these days in tonsures, in garments, in hor trappings, and other things, has now generated an abominable scan among the people, while persons holding ecclesiastical dignities, rectori honourable prebends, and benefices with cure of souls, even when ordain to holy orders, scorn to wear the crown (which is the token of the heaven kingdom and of perfection), and, using the distinction of hair extend almost to the shoulders like effeminate persons, walk about clothed in military rather than a clerical outer habit, viz., short, or notably scant, a with excessively wide sleeves, which do not cover the elbows, but ha down, lined, or, as they say, turned up with fur or silk, and hoods w tippets of wonderful length, and with long beards; and rashly dare, c trary to the canonical sanctions, to use rings indifferently on their finge and to be girt with zones, studded with precious stones of wonderful si with purses engraved with various figures, enamelled and gilt, and attach to them (*i.e.* to the girdle), with knives, hanging after the fashion of swor also with buskins red and even checked, green shoes and peaked and c in many ways, with cruppers (*croperiis*) to their saddles, and horns ha ing to their necks, capes and cloaks furred openly at the edges to such extent, that little or no distinction appears of clerks from laymen, wher

* *Incisis*, cut and slashed so as to show the lining.

ıey render themselves, through their demerits, unworthy of the privilege f their order and profession.

"We therefore, wishing henceforward to prevent such errors, &c., com- ıand and ordain, that whoever obtain ecclesiastical benefices in our rovince, especially if ordained to holy orders, wear clerical garments and ɔnsure suitable to their status; but if any clerks of our province go ıblicly in an outer garment short, or notably scant, or in one with long excessively wide sleeves, not touching the elbow round about, but ınging, with untonsured hair and long beard, or publicly wear their rings ı their fingers, &c., if, on admonition, they do not reform within six onths, they shall be suspended, and shall only be absolved by their ocesan, and then only on condition that they pay one-fifth of a year's come to the poor of the place through the diocesan," &c., &c.

The authorities tried to get these canons observed. Grostête sent back curate who came to him for ordination "dressed in rings and scarlet like courtier." * Some of the vicars of York Cathedral † were presented in 362 A.D. for being in the habit of going through the city in short tunics, ɲamentally trimmed, with knives and baselards ‡ hanging at their girdles. ıt the evidence before us seems to prove that it was not only the aco- te-rectors, and worldly-minded clerics, who indulged in such fashions, ıt that the secular clergy generally resisted these endeavours to impose ɔon them anything approaching to a regular habit like those worn by e monks and friars, and persisted in refusing to wear sad colours, or to t their coats differently from other people, or to abstain from wearing a ld ring or an ornamented girdle. In the drawings of the secular ɛrgy in the illuminated MSS., we constantly find them in the ordinary ɣil costume. Even in representations of the different orders and ranks the secular clergy drawn by friendly hands, and intended to represent ɛm *comme il faut*, we find them dressed in violation of the canons.

* Monumenta Franciscana, lxxxix. Master of the Rolls' publications.
† York Fabric Rolls, p. 243.
‡ This word, which will frequently occur, means a kind of ornamental dagger, which s worn hanging at the girdle in front by civilians, and knights when out of armour. e instructions to parish priests, already quoted, says—

In honeste clothes thow muste gon
Baselard ny bawdryke were thou non.

We have already had occasion to notice a bishop in a blue-grey gown and hood, over a blue under-robe; and a prior performing a royal baptism and canons performing service under the presidency of their bishop, with the blue and red robes of every-day life under their ritual surplices. The MSS. furnish us with an abundance of other examples, *e.g.*—In the early fourteenth-century MS., Add. 10,293, at f. 131 v., is a picture showing "how the priests read before the barony the letter which the false queen sent to Arthur." One of the persons thus described as priests has a blue gown and hood and black shoes, the other a claret-coloured gown and hood and red shoes.

But our best examples are those in the book (Cott. Nero D. vii.) before quoted, in which the grateful monks of St Alban's have recorded the names and good deeds of those who had presented gifts or done services to the convent. In many cases the scribe has given us a portrait of the benefactor in the margin of the record, and these portraits supply us with an authentic gallery of typical portraits of the various orders of society of the time at which they were executed. From these we have taken the three examples we here present to the reader. On f. 100 v. is a portrait of one Lawrence, a clerk, who is dressed in a brown robe; another clerk, William by name, is in a scarlet robe and hood; on f. 93 v., Leofric, a deacon, is in a blue robe and hood. The accompanying woodcut, from folio 105, is Dns. Ricardus de Threton, sacerdos,—Sir Richard de Threton, priest,—who was executor of Sir Robert de Thorp, knight, formerly chancellor of the king, and who gave twenty marks to the convent. Our woodcut gives only the outlines of the full-length portrait. In the original the robe and hood are of full bright blue, lined with white; the under sleeve

Dns. Ricardus de Threton, Sacerdos.

which appear at the wrists, are of the same colour; and the shoes are red. At f. 106 v. is Dns. Bartholomeus de Wendone, rector of the church of Thakreston, and the character of the face leads us to think that it may have been intended for a portrait. His robe and hood and sleeves are scarlet, with black shoes. Another rector, Dns. Johannes Rodland (at f. 105), rector of the church of Todyngton, has a green robe and scarlet hood. Still another rector, of the church of Little Waltham, is represented half-length in pink gown and purple hood. On f. 108 v. is the full-length portrait which is here represented. It is of Dns. Rogerus, chaplain

Dns. Barth. de Wendone, Rector.

Dns. Rogerus, Capellanus.

of the chapel of the Earl of Warwick, at Flamsted. Over a scarlet gown, of the same fashion as those in the preceding pictures, is a pink cloak lined with blue; the hood is scarlet, of the same suit as the gown; the buttons at the shoulder of the cloak are white, the shoes red. It will be seen also that all three of these clergymen wear the moustache and beard.

Dominus Robertus de Walsham, precentor of Sarum (f. 100 v.), is in his choir habit, a white surplice, and over it a fur amys fastened at the throat with a brooch. Dns. Robertus de Hereforde, Dean of Sarum

(f. 101), has a lilac robe and hood fastened by a gold brooch. There is another dean, Magister Johnnes Appleby, Dean of St. Paul's, at f. 105, whose costume is not very distinctly drawn. It may be necessary to assure some of our readers, that the colours here described were not given at the caprice of a limner wishing to make his page look gay. The portraits were perhaps imaginary, but the personages are habited in the costume proper to their rank and order. The series of Benedictine abbots and

John Ball, Priest.

monks in the same book are in black robes; other monks introduced are in the proper habit of their order; a king in his royal robes; a knight sometimes in armour, sometimes in the civil costume of his rank, with a sword by his side, and a chaplet round his flowing hair; a lady in the fashionable dress of the time; a burgher in his proper habit, with his hair cut short. And so the clergy are represented in the dress which they usually wore; and, for our purpose, the pictures are more valuable than if they were actual portraits of individual peculiarities of costume, because we are the more sure that they give us the usual and recognised costume of the several characters. Indeed, it is a rule, which has very rare

exceptions, that the mediæval illuminators represented contemporary subjects with scrupulous accuracy. We give another representation from the picture of John Ball, the priest who was concerned in Wat Tyler's rebellion, taken from a MS. of Froissart's Chronicle, in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. The whole picture is interesting; the background is a church, in whose churchyard are three tall crosses. Ball is preaching from the pulpit of his saddle to the crowd of insurgents who occupy the left side of the picture. In the Froissart MS. Harl. 4,380, at f. 20, is a picture of *un vaillant homme et clerque nommé Maistre Johan Warennes*, preaching against Pope Boniface; he is in a pulpit panelled in green and gold, with a pall hung over the front, and the people sit on benches before him; he is habited in a blue robe and hood lined with white.

The author of Piers Ploughman, carping at the clergy in the latter half of the fourteenth century, says it would be better

> "If many a priest bare for their baselards and their brooches,
> A pair of beads in their hand, and a book under their arm.
> Sire* John and Sire Geffrey hath a girdle of silver,
> A baselard and a knife, with botons overgilt."

* The honorary title of Sir was given to priests down to a late period. A law of Canute declared a priest to rank with the second order of thanes—*i.e.*, with the landed gentry. "By the laws, armorial, civil, and of arms, a priest in his place in civil conversation is always before any esquire, as being a knight's fellow by his holy orders, and the third of the three Sirs which only were in request of old (no baron, viscount, earl, nor marquis being then in use), to wit, Sir King, Sir Knight, and Sir Priest. . . . . But afterwards Sir in English was restrained to these four,—Sir Knight, Sir Priest, and Sir Graduate, and, in common speech, Sir Esquire; so always, since distinction of titles were, Sir Priest was ever the second."—A Decacordon of Quodlibetical Questions concerning Religion and State, quoted in Knight's Shakespeare, Vol. I. of Comedies, note to Sc. 1, Act i. of "Merry Wives of Windsor." In Shakespeare's characters we have *Sir Hugh Evans* and *Sir Oliver Martext*, and, at a later period still, "Sir John" was the popular name for a priest. Piers Ploughman (Vision XI. 304) calls them "God's knights,"

> And also in the Psalter says David to overskippers,
> *Psallite Deo nostro, psallite; quoniam rex terre*
> *Deus Israel; psallite sapienter.*
> The Bishop shall be blamed before God, as I leve [believe]
> That crowneth such goddes knightes that conneth nought *sapienter*
> Synge ne psalmes rede ne segge a masse of the day.
> Ac never neyther is blameless the bisshop ne the chapleyne,
> For her either is endited; and that of *ignorancia*
> *Non excusat episcopos, nec idiotes prestes.*

A little later, he speaks of proud priests habited in patlocks,—a short jacket worn by laymen,—with peaked shoes and large knives or daggers. And in the poems of John Audelay, in the fifteenth century, a parish priest is described in

"His girdle harnesched with silver, his baselard hangs by."

In the wills of the clergy they themselves describe their "togas" of gay colours, trimmed with various furs, and their ornamented girdles and purses, and make no secret of the objectionable knives and baselards. In the Bury St. Edmunds Wills, Adam de Stanton, a chaplain, A.D. 1370, bequeaths one girdle, with purse and knife, valued at 5*s*.—a rather large sum of money in those days. In the York wills, John Wynd-hill, Rector of Arnecliffe, A.D. 1431, bequeaths a pair of amber beads, such as Piers Ploughman says a priest ought "to bear in his hand, and a book under his arm;" and, curiously enough, in the next sentence he leaves "an English book of Piers Ploughman;" but he does not seem to have been much influenced by the popular poet's invectives, for he goes on to bequeath two green gowns and one of murrey and one of sanguine colour, besides two of black, all trimmed with various furs; also, one girdle of sanguine silk, ornamented with silver, and gilded, and another zone of green and white, ornamented with silver and gilded; and he also leaves behind him—*proh pudor*—his best silver girdle, and a baselard with ivory and silver handle. John Gilby, Rector of Knesale, 1434-5, leaves a red toga, furred with byce, a black zone of silk with gilt bars, and a zone ornamented with silver. J. Bagule, Rector of All Saints, York, A.D. 1438, leaves a little baselard, with a zone harnessed with silver, to Sir T. Astell, a chaplain. W. Duffield, a chantry priest at York, A.D. 1443, leaves a black zone silvered, a purse called a "gypsire," and a white purse of "Burdeux." W. Siverd, chaplain, leaves to H. Hobshot a hawk-bag; and to W. Day, parochial chaplain of Calton, a pair of hawk-bag rings; and to J. Sarle, chaplain, "my ruby zone, silvered, and my toga, furred with 'bevers;'" and to the wife of J. Bridlington, "a ruby purse of satin." R. Rolleston, provost of the church of Beverley, A.D. 1450, leaves a "toga lunata" with a red hood, a toga and hood of violet, a long toga and hood of black trimmed with martrons, and a toga and hood of violet. J. Clyft, chaplain

). 1455, leaves a zone of silk, ornamented with silver. J. Tidman, aplain, A.D. 1458, a toga of violet and one of meld. C. Lassels, chap- n, A.D. 1461, a green toga and a white zone, silvered. T. Horneby, ctor of Stokesley, A.D. 1464, a red toga and hood; and, among the Rich- ondshire Wills, we find that of Sir Henry Halled, Lady-priest of the rish of Kirby-in-Kendal, in 1542 A.D. (four years before the suppression the chantries), who leaves a short gown and a long gown, whose colour not specified, but was probably black, which seems by this time to have en the most usual clerical wear.

The accompanying woodcut will admirably illustrate the ornamented dle, purse, and knife, of which we have en reading. It is from a MS. of Chau- 's poem of the Romaunt of the Rose Harl. 4,425, f. 143), and represents a est confessing a lady in a church. e characters in the scene are, like the em, allegorical; the priest is Genius, d the lady is Dame Nature; but it is t the less an accurate picture of a con- sional scene of the latter part of the rteenth century. The priest is habited a robe of purple, with a black cap and black liripipe attached to it, brought er the shoulder to the front, and falling er the arm. The tab, peeping from neath the cap above the ear, is red; girdle, purse, and knife, are, in the original illumination, very clearly presented. In another picture of the same person, at f. 106, the black dle is represented as ornamented with little circles of gold.

A Priest Confessing a Lady.

Many of these clergymen had one black toga with hood *en suite*—not constant use in divine service, for, as we have already seen, they are nerally represented in the illuminations with coloured "togas" under ir surplices,—but perhaps, for wear on mourning occasions. Thus, in presentations of York Cathedral, A.D. 1519, "We thynke it were con-

venient that whene we fetche a corse to the churche, that we shulde be our blak abbettes [habits] mornyngly, w^t^ our hodes of the same of hedes, as is used in many other places." *

At the time of the Reformation, when the English clergy abandon the mediæval official robes, they also desisted from wearing the tonsu which had for many centuries been the distinguishing mark of cleric, and they seem generally to have adopted the academi dress, for the model both of their official and their ordinary dr The Puritan clergy adopted a costume which differed little, if at all, fr that of the laity of the same school. But it is curious that this quest of clerical dress continued to be one of complaint on one side, and res ance on the other, down to the end of our ecclesiastical legislation. T 74th canon of 1603 is as rhetorical in form, and as querulous in tone, a as minute in its description of the way in which ecclesiastical pers should, and the way in which they should not, dress, as is the Injunct of 1342, which we have already quoted. "The true, ancient, and flour ing churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their prelacy and cle might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of dec and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers a ministers of Almighty God: we, therefore, following their grave judgm and the ancient custom of the Church of England, and hoping that in ti new fangleness of apparel in some factious persons will die of itself, constitute and appoint, that the archbishops and bishops shall not inter to use the accustomed apparel of their degree. Likewise, all dea masters of colleges, archdeacons, and prebendaries, in cathedrals a collegiate churches (being priests or deacons), doctors in divinity, law, a physic, bachelors in divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors of law, hav any ecclesiastical living, shall wear gowns with standing collars, a sleeves straight at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the universit with hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet, and square caps; and that

* York Fabric Rolls, p. 268.

er ministers admitted, or to be admitted, into that function, shall also ally wear the like apparel as is aforesaid, except tippets only. We further in like manner ordain, that all the said ecclesiastical persons ve mentioned shall usually wear on their journeys cloaks with sleeves, mmonly called Priests' Cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or s. And no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif, or wrought night-, but only plain night caps of black silk, satin, or velvet. In all which ticulars concerning the apparel here prescribed, our meaning is not to ibute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for ency, gravity, and order, as is before specified. In private houses and their studies the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and olarlike apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in lic they go not in their doublet and hose without coats or cassocks; that they wear not any light-coloured stockings. Likewise, poor eficed men and curates (not being able to provide themselves long ns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid."

The portraits prefixed to the folio works of the great divines of the eenth and seventeenth centuries have made us familiar with the , that at the time of the Reformation the clergy wore the beard moustache. They continued to wear the cassock and gown as their inary out-door costume until as late as the time of George II.; but in fashion of doublet and hose, hats, shoes, and hair, they followed the om of other gentlemen. Mr. Fairholt, in his "Costume in England," 27, gives us a woodcut from a print of 1680 A.D., which admirably illus-es the ordinary out-door dress of a clergyman of the time of William Mary.

CHAPTER V.

PARSONAGE HOUSES.

WHEN, in our endeavour to realise the life of these secular clergy of the Middle Ages, we come to inquire, What sort of houses they live in? how were these furnished? what sort of life their occupants lead? what kind of men were they? it is curious little seems to be generally known on the subject, compared with what know about the houses and life and character of the regular orders. stead of gathering together what others have said, we find ourse engaged in an original investigation of a new and obscure subject. case of the cathedral and collegiate clergy, and that of the isola parochial clergy, form two distinct branches of the subject. The limi space at our disposal will not permit us to do justice to both; the la branch of the subject is less known, and perhaps the more gener interesting, and we shall therefore devote the bulk of our space to it. will only premise a few words on the former branch.

The bishop of a cathedral of secular canons had his house near cathedral, in which he maintained a household equal in numbers expense to that of the secular barons among whom he took rank; chief difference being, that the spiritual lord's family consisted rathe chaplains and clerks than of squires and men-at-arms. The bish palace at Wells is a very interesting example in an unusually perfect dition. Britton gives an engraving of it as it appeared before the reig Edward VI. The bishop besides had other residences on his man some of which were castles like those of the other nobility. Farnham, present residence of the see of Winchester, is a noble example, which

ves its original purpose. Of the cathedral closes many still remain fficiently unchanged to enable us to understand their original condition. ke Lincoln for example. On the north side of the church, in the angle tween the nave and transept, was the cloister, with the polygonal apter-house on the east side. The lofty wall which enclosed the pre- icts yet remains, with its main entrance in the middle of the west wall, posite the great doors of the cathedral. This gate, called the Exchequer te, has chambers over it, devoted probably to the official business of the ocese. There are two other smaller gates at the north-east and south- st corners of the close, and there is a postern on the south side. The shop's palace, whose beautiful and interesting ruins and charming ounds still remain, occupied the slope of the southern hill outside the se. The vicar's court is in the corner of the close near the gateway the palace grounds. A fourteenth-century house, which was the official sidence of the chaplain of one of the endowed chantries, still remains on e south side of the close, nearly opposite the choir door. On the east le of the close the fifteenth-century houses of several of the canons ll remain, and are interesting examples of the domestic architecture of e time. It is not difficult from these data to picture to ourselves the iginal condition of this noble establishment when the cathedral, with cloister and chapter-house, stood isolated in the middle of the green ard, and the houses of the canons and chaplains formed a great irregular iadrangle round it, and the close walls shut them all in from the outer orld, and the halls and towers of the bishop's palace were still perfect nidst its hanging gardens enclosed within their own walls, the quadrangle houses which had been built for the cathedral vicars occupying a corner t out of the bishop's grounds beside his gateway. And we can repeople e restored close. Let it be on the morning of one of the great festivals; t the great bells be ringing out their summons to high mass; and we shall e the dignified canons in amice and cap crossing the green singly on eir way from their houses to their stalls in the choir; the vicars convers- g in a little group as they come across from their court; the surpliced orister boys under the charge of their schoolmaster; a band of minstrels th flutes, and hautboys, and viols, and harps, and organs, coming in

from the city, to use their instruments in the rood-loft to aid the voices the choir; scattered clerks and country clergy, and townspeople, are all co verging to the great south door; and last of all the lord bishop, in cope an mitre, emerges from his gateway, preceded by his cross-bearer, attended l noble or royal guests, and followed by a suite of officials and clerks; whi over all the great bells ring out their joyous peal to summon the peop to the solemn worship of God in the mother church of the vast diocese.

But we must turn to our researches into the humbler life of the count rectors and vicars. And first, what sort of houses did they live in? W have not been able to find one of the parsonage houses of an earlier da than the Reformation still remaining in a condition sufficiently unaltere to enable us to understand what they originally were. There is an ancie rectory house of the fourteenth century at West Deane, Sussex,* of whic we give a ground-plan and north-east view on the following page; but th rectory belonged to the prior and convent of Benedictine Monks of W mington, and this house was probably their grange, or cell, and may hav been inhabited by two of their monks, or by their tenant, and not by th parish priest. Again, there is a very picturesque rectory house, of th fifteenth century, at Little Chesterton, near Cambridge,† but this again believed to have been a grange, or cell, of a monastic house.

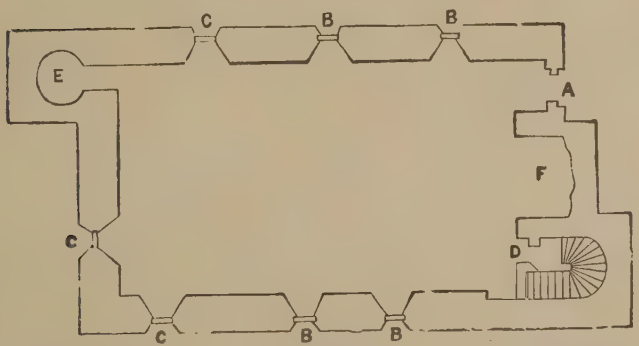
In the absence of actual examples, we are driven to glean what inform tion we can from other sources. There remain to us a good many of th deeds of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by which, on the impr priation of the benefices, provision was made for the permanent endo ment of vicarages in them. In the majority of cases the old recto house was assigned as the future vicarage house, and no detailed descri tion of it was necessary; but in the deed by which the rectories of Sa bridgeworth, in Herts, and Kelvedon, in Essex, were appropriated to th convent of Westminster, we are so fortunate as to find descriptions of th fourteenth-century parsonage houses, one of which is so detailed as enable any one who is acquainted with the domestic architecture of th

* Described and engraved in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vii. f. 13.

† Described and engraved in Mr. Parker's "Domestic Architecture."

ıe to form a very definite picture of the whole building. In the case of vbridgeworth, the old rectory house was assigned as the vicarage house, d is thus described—"All the messuage which is called the priest's

Rectory House, West Deane, Sussex.



A Entrance door.
B Windows.
C Cellar window.
D Entrance to stair.
E A recess.
F Fire-place.

	ft.	in.		ft.	in.
Length of exterior . . .	35	6	Thickness of wall . .	2	6
Width of interior . . .	14	10	Height of rooms . .	8	0

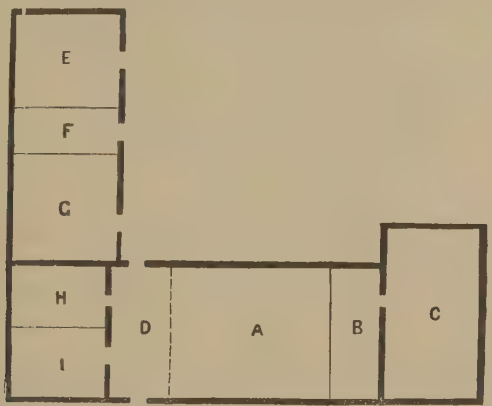
essuage, with the houses thereon built, that is to say, one hall with two ıambers, with a buttery, cellar, kitchen, stable, and other fitting and ecent houses, with all the garden as it is enclosed with walls to the said

messuage belonging." The description of the parsonage house at Kel don is much more definite and intelligible. For this the deed tells us t convent assigned—"One hall situate in the manor of the said abbot a convent near the said church, with a chamber and soler at one end of t hall and with a buttery and cellar at the other. Also one other house three parts, that is to say, for a kitchen with a convenient chamber in t end of the said house for guests, and a bakehouse. Also one other hou in two parts, next the gate at the entrance of the manor, for a stable a cowhouse. He (the vicar) shall also have a convenient grange, to built within a year at the expense of the prior and convent. He shall al have the curtilage with the garden adjoining to the hall on the north sid as it is enclosed with hedges and ditches." The date of the deed 1356 A.D., and it speaks of these houses as already existing. Now t common arrangement of a small house at that date, and for near a centu before and after, was this, "a hall in the centre, with a soler at one e and offices at the other."* A description which exactly agrees with t account of the Kelvedon house, and enables us to say with great prob bility that in the Sawbridgeworth "priest's messuage" also, the tv chambers were at one end of the hall, and the buttery, cellar, and kitch at the other, the stable and other fitting and decent houses being detach from and not forming any portion of the dwelling house.

Confining ourselves, however, to the Kelvedon house, a little study w enable us to reconstruct it conjecturally with a very high probability being minutely accurate in our conjectures. First of all, a house of th character in the county of Essex would, beyond question, be a timb house. To make our description clearer we have given a rough diagra of our conjectural arrangement. Its principal feature was, of course, t "one hall" (A). We know at once what the hall of a timber house of th period of architecture would be. It would be a rather spacious and lof apartment, with an open timber roof; the principal door of the hou would open into the "screens" (D), at the lower end of the hall, and t back door of the house would be at the other end of the screens. At t

* Parker's "Domestic Architecture," ii. p. 87.

pper end of the hall would be the raised dais (B), at which the master of he house sat with his family. The fireplace would either be an open earth in the middle of the hall, like that which still exists in the four-eenth-century hall at Penshurst Place, Kent, or it would be an open fire-lace, under a projecting chimney, at the further side of the hall, such as s frequently seen in MS. illuminations of the small houses of the period. 'here was next "a chamber and soler at one end of the hall." The soler f a mediæval house was the chief apartment after the hall, it answered to he "great chamber" of the sixteenth century, and to the parlour or draw-ng-room of more modern times. It was usually adjacent to the upper end



Conjectural Plan of Rectory-House at Kelvedon, Essex.

f the hall, and built on transversely to it, with a window at each end. It as usually raised on an undercroft, which was used as a storeroom or ellar, so that it was reached by a stair from the upper end of the hall. ometimes, instead of a mere undercroft, there was a chamber under the ler, which was the case here, so that we have added these features to our an (c). Next there was "a buttery and cellar at the other" end of the ll. In the buttery in those days were kept wine and beer, table linen, ps, pots, &c.: and in the cellar the stores of eatables which, it must be membered, were not bought in weekly from the village shop, or the next arket town, but were partly the produce of the glebe and tithe, and partly

were laid in yearly or half-yearly at some neighbouring fair. The butter and cellar—they who are familiar with old houses, or with our colleges, wi remember—are always at the lower end of the hall, and open upon th screens, with two whole or half doors side by side; we may therefore ad them thus upon our plan (H, I).

The deed adds, "Also one other house in three parts." In those day the rooms of a house were not massed compactly together under one roo but were built in separate buildings more or less detached, and each build ing was called a house; "One other house in three parts, that is to say, kitchen with a convenient chamber at one end of the said house for guest and a bakehouse." "The kitchen," says Mr. Parker, in his "Domest Architecture," "was frequently a detached building, often connected wit the hall by a passage or alley leading from the screens;" and it was ofte of greater relative size and importance than modern usage would lead t to suppose; the kitchens of old monasteries, mansion houses, and colleg often have almost the size and architectural character of a second hall. I the case before us it was a section of the "other house," and probab occupied its whole height, with an open timber roof (G). In the dispositio of the bakehouse and convenient chamber for guests which were also this other house, we meet with our first difficulty; the "chamber" mig possibly be over the bakehouse, which took the usual form of an unde croft beneath the guest chamber; but the definition that the house w divided "in three parts" suggests that it was divided from top to botto into three distinct sections. Inclining to the latter opinion, we have disposed these apartments in our plan (F, E).

The elevation of the house may be conjectured with as much probabili as its plan. Standing in front of it we should have the side of the h towards us, with the arched door at its lower end, and perhaps two windo in the side with carved wood tracery* in their heads. To the right wou be the gable end of the chamber with soler over it; the soler would pr bably have a rather large arched and traceried window in the end, t chamber a smaller and perhaps square-headed light. On the left would

* There are numerous curious examples of fifteenth-century timber window-tracery the Essex churches.

the building, perhaps a lean-to, containing the buttery and cellar, with only a small square-headed light in front. The accompanying wood-cut of a fourteenth-century house, from the Add. MSS. 10,292, will help to illustrate our conjectural elevation of Kelvedon Rectory. It has the hall with its great door and arched traceried window, and at the one end a chamber

A Fourteenth Century House.

and soler over it. It only wants the offices at the other end to make the resemblance complete.*

* The deed of settlement of the vicarage of Bulmer, in the year 1425, gives us the description of a parsonage house of similar character. It consisted of one hall with two chambers annexed, the bakehouse, kitchen, and larder-house, one chamber for the vicar's servant, a stable, and a hay-soller (*Soler*, loft), with a competent garden. Ingrave rectory house was a similar house; it is described, in a terrier of 1610, as "a house containing a hall, a parlour, a buttery, two lofts, and a study, also a kitchen, a milk-house, and a house for poultry, a barn, a stable and a hay-house."—*Newcourt*, ii. p. 281. Ingatestone rectory, in the terrier of 1610, was "a dwelling-house with a hall, a parlour, and a chamber within it; a study newly built by the then parson; a chamber over the parlour, and another within that with a closet; without the dwelling-house a kitchen and two little rooms adjoining to it, and a chamber over them; two little butteries over against the hall, and next them a chamber, and one other chamber over the same; without the kitchen there is a dove-house, and another house built by the then parson; a barn and a stable very ruinous."—*Newcourt*, ii. 348. Here, too, we seem to have an old house with hall in the middle, parlour and chamber at one end and two butteries at the other, in the midst of successive additions.

There is also a description of the rectory house of West Haningfield, Essex, in Newcourt, ii. 309, and of North Bemfleet, ii. 46.

Of later date probably and greater size, resembling a moated manor house, was the rectory of Great Bromley, Essex, which is thus described in the terrier of 1610 A.D.: "A large parsonage house compass'd with a Mote, a Gate-house, with a large chamber, and a substantial bridge of timber adjoining to it, a little yard, an orchard, and a little garden, all within the Mote, which, together with the Circuit of the House, contains about half an Acre of Ground; and without the Mote there is a Yard, in which there is another Gate-house and a stable, and a hay house adjoining; also a barn of 25 yards long and 9 yards wide, and about 79 Acres and a-half of glebe-land." * The outbuildings were perhaps arranged as a courtyard outside the moat to which the gate-house formed an entrance, so that the visitor would pass through this outer gate, through the court of offices, over the bridge, and through the second gate-house into the base court of the house. This is the arrangement at Ightham Mote, Kent.

The parish chaplains seem to have had houses of residence provided for them. The parish of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York, complained in its visitation presentment, in the year 1409, that there was no house assigned for the parish chaplain or for the parish clerk. That they were small houses we gather from the fact that in some of the settlements of vicarages it is required that a competent house shall be built for the vicar where the parish chaplain has been used to live; *e.g.* at Great Bentley, Essex, it was ordered in 1323, that the vicars "shall have one competent dwelling-house with a sufficient curtilage, where the parish chaplain did use to abide, to be prepared at the cost of the said prior and convent." † And at the settlement of the vicarage of St. Peter's, Colchester, A.D. 1319, it was required that "the convent of St. Botolph's, the impropriators, should prepare a competent house for the vicar in the ground of the churchyard where a house was built for the parish chaplain of the said church." At Radwinter Essex, we find by the terrier of 1610 A.D., that there were two mansions belonging to the benefice, "on the south side of the church, towards the west end, one called the great vicarage, and in ancient time the Domus Capellanorum, and the other the less vicarage," which latter "formerly

* Newcourt's "Repertorum," ii. 97.

† Newcourt, ii. 49.

served for the ease of the Parson, and, as appears by evidence, first given to the end that if any of the parish were sick, the party might be sure to find the Parson or his curate near the church ready to go and visit him." At the south-west corner of the churchyard of Doddinghurst, Essex, there still exists a little house of fifteenth-century date, which may have been such a curate's house.

From a comparison of these parsonages with the usual plan and arrangement of the houses of laymen of the fourteenth century, may be made the important deduction that the houses of the parochial clergy had no ecclesiastical peculiarities of arrangement; they were not little monasteries or great recluse houses, they were like the houses of the laity; and this agrees with the conclusions to which we have arrived already by other roads, that the secular clergy lived in very much the same style as laymen of a similar degree of wealth and social standing. The poor clerk lived in a single chamber of a citizen's house; the town priest had a house like those of the citizens; the country rector or vicar a house like the manor houses of the smaller gentry.

As to the furniture of the parsonage, the wills of the clergy supply us with ample authorities. We will select one of about the date of the Kelvedon parsonage house which we have been studying, to help us to conjecturally furnish the house which we have conjecturally built. Here is an inventory of the goods of Adam de Stanton, a chaplain, date 1370 A.D., taken from Mr. Tymms's collection of Bury wills. "Imprimis, in money vi$^{s.}$ viii$^{d.}$ and i seal of silver worth ijs." The money will seem a fair sum to have in hand when we consider the greater value of money then and especially the comparative scarcity of actual coin. The seal was probably his official seal as chaplain of an endowed chantry; we have extant examples of such seals of the beneficed clergy. "Item, iij brass pots and i posnet worth xj$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$ Item, in plate, xxij$^{d.}$ Item, a round pot with a laver, j$^{s.}$ vj$^{d.}$," probably an ewer and basin for washing the hands, like those still used in Germany, &c. "Item, in iron instruments, vj^{s} viiij$^{d.}$ and vj$^{d.}$," perhaps fire-dogs and poker, spit, and pothook. "Item, in pewter vessels, iiij$^{s.}$ ij$^{d.}$," probably plates, dishes, and spoons. "Item, of wooden utensils," which, from comparison with other inventories of

about the same period, we suppose may be boards and trestles for tables, and benches, and a chair, and perhaps may include trenchers and bowls. "Item, i portiforum, $x^{s.}$," a book of church service so called, which must have been a handsome one to be worth ten shillings, perhaps it was illuminated. "Item, j book de Lege and j Par Statutorum, and j Book of Romances.* Item, j girdle with purse and knife, $v^{s.}$" on which we have already commented in our last chapter. "Item, j pair of knives for the table, $xij^{d.}$ Item, j saddle with bridle and spurs, $iij^{s.}$ Item, of linen and woollen garments, $xxviij^{s.}$ and $xij^{d.}$ Item, of chests and caskets, $vj^{s.}$ $ij^{d.}$" Chests and caskets then served for cupboards and drawers.†

If we compare these clerical inventories with those of contemporary laymen of the same degree, we shall find that a country parson's house was furnished like a small manor house, and that his domestic economy was very like that of the gentry of a like income. Matthew Paris tells us an anecdote of a certain handsome clerk, the rector of a rich church, who surpassed all the knights living around him in giving repeated entertainments and acts of hospitality.‡ But usually it was a rude kind of life which the country squire or parson led, very like that which was led by the substantial farmers of a few generations ago, when it was the fashion for the unmarried farm labourers to live in the farm-house, and for the farmer and his household all to sit down to meals together. These were their hours:—

> "Rise at five, dine at nine,
> Sup at five, and bed at nine,
> Will make a man live to ninety-and-nine."

The master of the house sat in the sole arm-chair, in the middle of the

* George Darell, A.D. 1432, leaves one book of statutes, containing the statutes of Kings Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV.; one book of law, called "Natura Brevium;" one Portus, and one Par Statutorum Veterum.—*Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. p. 27.

† There are other inventories of the goods of clerics, which will help to throw light upon their domestic economy at different periods, *e.g.*, of the vicar of Waghen, A.D. 1462, in the York Wills, ii. 261, and of a chantry priest, A.D. 1542, in the Sussex Archæological Collections, iii. p. 115.

‡ Bohn's Edition, vol. ii. p. 278.

igh table on the dais, with his family on either side of him; and his men at at the movable tables of boards and trestles, with a bench on each side, hich we find mentioned in the inventories: or the master sat at the same able with his men, only he sat above the salt and they below; he drank is ale out of a silver cup while they drank it out of horn; he ate white read while they ate brown, and he a capon out of his curtilage while ney had pork or mutton ham; he retired to his great chamber when he esired privacy, which was not often perhaps; and he slept in a tester bed n the great chamber, while they slept on truckle beds in the hall.

One item in the description of the Kelvedon parsonage requires special onsideration, and opens up a rather important question as to the domestic conomy of the parochial clergy over and above what we have hitherto leaned. "The convenient chamber for guests" there mentioned was not best bedroom for any friend who might pay him a visit. It was a pro-ision for the efficient exercise of the hospitality to which the beneficed arochial clergy were bound. It is a subject which perhaps needs a little xplanation. In England there were no inns where travellers could obtain ood and lodging until the middle of the fourteenth century; and for long fter that period they could only be found in the largest and most important owns; and it was held to be a part of the duty of the clergy to "entertain rangers," and be "given to hospitality." It was a charity not very likely o be abused; for, thanks to bad roads, unbridged fords, no inns, wild oors, and vast forests haunted by lawless men, very few travelled, except r serious business; and it was a real act of Christian charity to afford to uch travellers the food and shelter which they needed, and would have een hard put to it to have obtained otherwise. The monasteries, we all now, exercised this hospitality on so large a scale, that in order to avoid e interruption a constant succession of guests would have made in the clusion and regularity of conventual life, they provided special buildings r it, called the hospitium or guest house, a kind of inn within the walls, nd they appointed one of the monks, under the name of the hospitaller guest master, to represent the convent in entertaining the guests. ermitages also, we have seen, were frequently built along the high roads, pecially near bridges and fords, for the purpose of aiding travellers.

Along the road which led towards some famous place of pilgrimage hos pitals, which were always religious foundations, were founded especiall for the entertainment of poor pilgrims. And the parochial clergy wer expected to exercise a similar hospitality. Thus in the replies of th rectors of Berkshire to the papal legate, in 1240 A.D., they say that "the churches were endowed and enriched by their patrons with lands an revenues for the especial purpose that the rectors of them should receiv guests, rich as well as poor, and show hospitality to laity as well as clerg according to their means, as the custom of the place required." * Again in 1246, the clergy, on a similar occasion, stated that "a custom ha hitherto prevailed, and been observed in England, that the rectors parochial churches have always been remarkable for hospitality, and hav made a practice of supplying food to their parishioners who were i want, ... and if a portion of their benefices be taken away from them they will be under the necessity of refusing their hospitality, and aban doning their accustomed offices of piety. And if these be withdrawn they will incur the hatred of those subject to them [their parishioners], an will lose the favour of passers-by [travellers] and their neighbours." † Again, in 1253 A.D., Bishop Grostête, in his remonstrance to the Pop says of the foreigners who were intruded into English benefices, that the "could not even take up their residence, to administer to the wants of th poor, and to receive travellers." ‡

There is an interesting passage illustrative of the subject quoted i Parker's "Domestic Architecture," i. p. 123. Æneus Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II., describing his journey from Scotland into England, in th year 1448, says that he entered a large village in a wild and barbarou part of the country, about sunset, and "alighted at a rustic's house, an supped there with the priest of the place and the host." The specia mention of the priest in the first place almost leads us to conjecture tha the foreign ecclesiastic had first gone to the priest of the place for th usual hospitality, and had been taken on by him to the manor house—fo

* Matthew Paris, vol. i. p. 285 (Bohn's edition).
† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 193.
‡ Ibid., vol iii. p. 48.

the "rustic" seems to have been a squire—as better able to afford him a suitable hospitality. Sundry pottages, and fowls, and geese, were placed on the table, but there was neither bread nor wine. He had, however, brought with him a few loaves and a roundel of wine, which he had received at a certain monastery. Either a stranger was a great novelty, or the Italian ecclesiastic had something remarkable in his appearance, for he says all "the people of the place ran to the house to stare at him."

Kelvedon being on one of the great high roads of the country, its parson would often be called upon to exercise his duty of hospitality, hence the provision of a special guest chamber in the parsonage house. And so in our picture of the domestic economy and ordinary life of a mediæval country parson we must furnish his guest chamber, and add a little to the contents of buttery and cellar, to provide for his duty of hospitality; and we must picture him not always sitting in solitary dignity at his high table on the dais, but often playing the courteous host to knight and lady, merchant, minstrel, or pilgrim; and after dinner giving the broken meat to the poor, who in the days when there was no poor law were the regular dependants on his bounty.

THE MINSTRELS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

IT would carry us too far a-field to attempt to give a sketch of the early music of the principal nations of antiquity, such as might be deduced from the monuments of Egypt and Nineveh and ece. We may, however, briefly glance at the most ancient minstrelsy the Israelites; partly for the sake of the peculiar interest of the subject lf, partly because the early history of music is nearly the same in all ions, and this earliest history will illustrate and receive illustration n a comparison with the history of music in mediæval England.

Musical instruments, we are told by the highest of all authorities, were ented in the eighth generation of the world—that is in the third gene-on before the flood—by Tubal, "the Father of all such as handle the p and organ, both stringed and wind instruments." The ancient aelites used musical instruments on the same occasions as the mediæval opeans—in battle; in their feasts and dances; in processions, whether eligious or civil ceremony; and in the solemnising of divine worship. e trumpet and the horn were then, as always, the instruments of warlike sic—"If ye go to war then shall ye blow an alarm with the silver npets."* The trumpet regulated the march of the hosts of Israel ough the wilderness. When Joshua compassed Jericho, the seven

* Numb. x. 9.

priests blew trumpets of rams' horns. Gideon and his three hundred
comfited the host of the Midianites with the sound of their trumpets.

The Tabret was the common accompaniment of the troops of fem
dancers, whether the occasion were religious or festive. Miriam
prophetess took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went
after her with timbrels and with dances, singing a solemn chorus to
triumphant song of Moses and of the Children of Israel over the dest
tion of Pharaoh in the Red Sea,—

> "Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."*

Jephthah's daughter went to meet her victorious father with timbrels
dances :—

> "The daughter of the warrior Gileadite,
> From Mizpeh's tower'd gate with welcome light,
> With timbrel and with song."

And so, when King Saul returned from the slaughter of the Philisti
after the shepherd David had killed their giant champion in the va
of Elah, the women came out of all the cities to meet the retur
warriors "singing and dancing to meet King Saul, with tabrets, with
and with instruments of music;" and the women answered one anothe
dramatic chorus—

> "Saul hath slain his thousands,
> And David his ten thousands."†

Laban says that he would have sent away Jacob and his wives
children, "with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp."
Jeremiah prophesying that times of ease and prosperity shall come a
for Israel, says: "O Virgin of Israel, thou shalt again be adorned
thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry."‡

In their feasts these and many other instruments were used. Isaiah
us§ that they had "the harp, and the viol, the tabret, and pipe,
wine in their feasts;" and Amos tells us of the luxurious people wh
upon beds of ivory, and "chant to the sound of the viol, and inve

* Exod. xv. 21. † 1 Sam. xviii. 7. ‡ Jer. xxxi. 4. § Is. v.

mselves instruments of music like David," and drink wine in bowls, and oint themselves with the costliest perfumes.

Instruments of music were used in the colleges of Prophets, which muel established in the land, to accompany and inspire the delivery of ir prophetical utterances. As Saul, newly anointed, went up the hill God towards the city, he met a company of prophets coming down, h a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them, pro-esying; and the spirit of the Lord came upon Saul when he heard, and also prophesied.* When Elisha was requested by Jehoram to prophesy e fate of the battle with the Moabites, he said: "Bring me a minstrel; d when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him, and prophesied."

When David brought up the ark from Gibeah, he and all the house of ael played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir-od, even on harps, psalteries, timbrels, cornets, and cymbals.† And the song which he himself composed to be sung on that occasion,‡ he us describes the musical part of the procession :—

> "It is well seen how thou goest,
> How thou, my God and King, goest to the sanctuary;
> The singers go before, the minstrels follow after,
> In the midst are the damsels playing with the timbrels."

The instruments appointed for the regular daily service of the Temple by David, and Gad the king's seer, and Nathan the prophet, for so was e commandment of the Lord by his prophets," were cymbals, psalteries, d harps, which David made for the purpose, and which were played by ur thousand Levites.

Besides the instruments already mentioned,—the harp, tabret, timbrel, altery, trumpet, cornet, cymbal, pipe, and viol,—they had also the lyre, g-pipes, and bells; and probably they carried back with them from bylon further additions, from the instruments of "all peoples, nations, d languages" with which they would become familiarised in that capital the world. But from the time of Tubal down to the time when the

* 1 Sam. x. 5. † 2 Sam. vi. 5. ‡ Psalm lxviii.

royal minstrel of Israel sang those glorious songs which are still the da solace of thousands of mankind, and further down to the time wh the captive Israelites hanged their unstrung harps upon the willows Babylon, and could not sing the songs of Zion in a strange land, the ha continued still the fitting accompaniment of the voice in all poeti utterance of a dignified and solemn character:—the recitation of t poetical portions of historical and prophetical Scripture, for instan would be sustained by it, and the songs of the psalmists of Zion we accompanied by its strains. And thus this sketch of the history of t earliest music closes, with the minstrel harp still in the foreground; wh in the distance we hear the sound of the fanfare of cornet, flute, ha sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music, which were co certed on great occasions; such as that on which they resounded over t plain of Dura, to bow that bending crowd of heads, as the ripe corn ben before the wind, to the great Image of Gold:—an idolatry, alas! wh the peoples, nations, and languages still perform almost as fervently of old.

The northern Bard, or Scald, was the father of the minstrels of me æval Europe. Our own early traditions afford some picturesque anecdot proving the high estimation in which the character was held by t Saxons and their kindred Danes; and showing that they were accustom to wander about to court, and camp, and hall; and were hospitably receiv even though the Bard were of a race against which his hosts were at t very time encamped in hostile array. We will only remind the reader the Royal Alfred's assumption of the character of a minstrel, and his v in that disguise to the Danish camp (A.D. 878); and of the similar vi ten years after, of Anlaff the Danish king to the camp of Saxon Athelsta But the earliest anecdote of the kind we shall have hereafter to refer and may therefore here detail at length. It is told us by Geoffrey of M mouth, that Colgrin, the son of Ella, who succeeded Hengist in the lead ship of the invading Saxons, was shut up in York, and closely besieged King Arthur and his Britons. Baldulf, the brother of Colgrin, wanted gain access to him, to apprise him of a reinforcement which was com

om Germany. In order to accomplish this design, he assumed the aracter of a minstrel. He shaved his head and beard; and dressing mself in the habit of that profession, took his harp in his hand. In is disguise he walked up and down the trenches without suspicion, aying all the while upon his instrument as a harper. By little and little approached the walls of the city; and, making himself known to the ntinels, was in the night drawn up by a rope.

The harper continued throughout the Middle Ages to be the most digni-ed of the minstrel craft, the reciter, and often the composer, of heroic gend and historical tale, of wild romance and amorous song. Frequently, nd perhaps especially in the case of the higher class of harpers, he avelled alone, as in the cases which we have already seen of Baldulf, nd Alfred, and Anlaff. But he also often associated himself with a band minstrels, who filled up the intervals of his recitations and songs with eir music, much as vocal and instrumental pieces are alternated in ur modern concerts. With a band of minstrels there was also very ually associated a mime, who amused the audience with his feats of gility and leger-de-main. The association appears at first sight somewhat ndignified—the heroic harper and the tumbler—but the incongruity was ot peculiar to the Middle Ages; the author of the "Iliad" wrote the Battle of the Frogs,"—the Greeks were not satisfied without a satiric rama after their grand heroic tragedy; and in these days we have a farce a pantomime after Shakspeare. We are not all Heraclituses, to see only e tragic side of life, or Democrituses, to laugh at everything; the ajority of men have faculties to appreciate both classes of emotion; nd it would seem, from universal experience, that, as the Russian finds a hysical delight in leaping from a vapour-bath into the frozen Neva, so ere is some mental delight in the sudden alternate excitation of the oppo-te emotions of tragedy and farce. If we had time to philosophise, we ight find the source of the delight deeply seated in our nature:—alternate ars and laughter—it is an epitome of human life!

In the accompanying woodcut from a Late Saxon MS. in the British useum (Cott. Tiberius C. vi.) we have a curious evidence of the way in hich custom blinded men to any incongruity there may be in the asso-

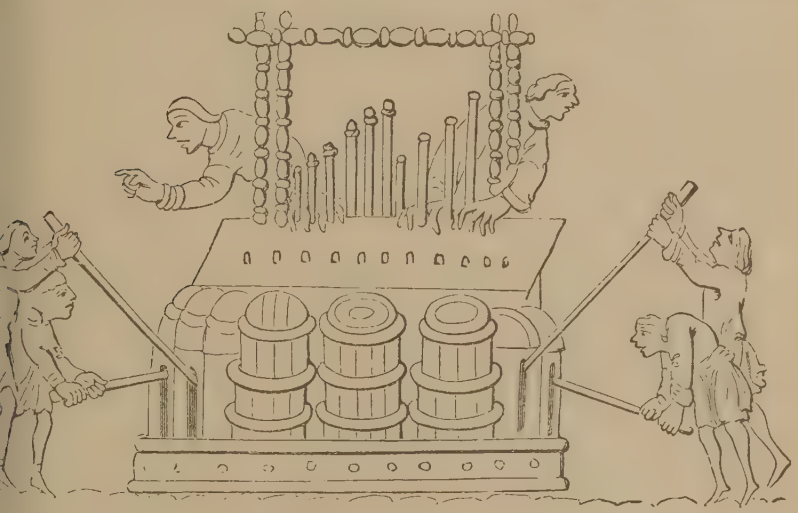
ciation of the harper and the juggler, for here we have David sing his Psalms and accompanying himself on the harp, the dove remind us that he sang and harped under the influence of inspiration. He accompanied by performers who must be Levites ; and yet the Saxon il minator was so used to see a mime form one of a minstrel band, that

Saxon Band of Minstrels.

has introduced one playing the common feat of tossing three knives a three balls.

The Saxons were a musical people. We learn from Bede's anecdote of t poet Cædmon, that it was usual at their feasts to pass the harp round fr hand to hand, and every man was supposed to be able to sing in his tu and accompany himself on the instrument. They had a considerable nu

r of musical instruments. In a MS. in the British Museum, Tiberius vi., folios 16 v., 17 v., 18, are a few leaves of a formal treatise on the bject, which give us very carefully drawn pictures of different instruments, th their names and descriptions. There are also illustrations of them the Add. 11,695, folios 86, 86 v., 164, 170 v., 229, and in Cleopatra viii. Among them are the Psaltery of various shapes, the Sambuca sackbut, the single and double Chorus, &c. Other instruments we d in Saxon MSS. are the lyre, viol, flute, cymbals, organ, &c. A of hand-bells (carillons) which the player struck with two hammers, s a favourite instrument. We often find different instruments played



Saxon Organ.

ther. At folio 93 v. of the MS. Claudius B iv. there is a group of twelve ale harpists playing together; one has a small instrument, probably a l of lyre, the rest have great harps of the same pattern. They probably resent Miriam and the women of Israel joining in the triumphal song Moses over the destruction of the Egyptians in the Red Sea.

The organ, already introduced into divine service, became, under hands of St. Dunstan, a large and important instrument. William of

Malmesbury says that Dunstan gave many to churches which had pipe brass and were inflated with bellows. In a MS. psalter in Trinity Coll Cambridge, is a picture of one of considerable size, which has no less t four bellows played by four men. It is represented in the accompan wood-cut.

The Northmen who invaded and gave their name to Normandy, t their minstrels with them; and the learned assert that it was from t that the troubadours of Provence learned their art, which ripene their sunny clime into *la joyeuse science*, and thence was carried into I France, and Spain. It is quite certain that minstrelsy was in high re among the Normans at the period of the Conquest. Every one wil member how Taillefer, the minstrel-knight, commenced the great batt Hastings. Advancing in front of the Norman host, he animated hir and them to a chivalric daring by chanting the heroic tale of Charlem and his Paladins, at the same time showing feats of skill in tossing sword into the air; and then rushed into the Saxon ranks, like a divi mad hero of old, giving in his own self-sacrifice an augury of victory t people.

From the period of the Conquest, authorities on the subject of w we are treating, though still not so numerous as could be desired, bec too numerous to be all included within the limits to which our s restricts us. The reader may refer to Wharton's "History of En Poetry," to Bishop Percy's introductory essay to the "Reliques of E English Poetry," and to the introductory essay to Ellis's "Early En Metrical Romances," for the principal published authorities. For a s of learned essays on mediæval musical instruments he may co M. Didron's "Annales Archæologiques," vol. iii. pp. 76, 142, 260; vo pp. 25, 94; vol. vi. p. 315; vol. vii. pp. 92, 157, 244, 325; vol. vi 242; vol. ix. pp. 289, 329.* We propose only from these and published and unpublished materials to give a popular sketch of subject.

Throughout this period minstrelsy was in high estimation wit

* Also a paper read before the London and Middlesex Architectural Society in 1871.

sses of society. The king himself, like his Saxon* predecessors, had a
g's minstrel, or king of the minstrels, who probably from the first was at
head of a band of royal minstrels.†

This fashion of the royal court, doubtless, like all its other fashions,
tained also in the courts of the great nobility (several instances will be
served in the sequel), and in their measure in the households of the
ser nobility. Every gentleman of estate had probably his one, two, or
re minstrels as a regular part of his household. It is not difficult to
cover their duties. In the representations of dinners, which occur plen-
ily in the mediæval MSS., we constantly find musicians introduced;
metimes we see them preceding the servants, who are bearing the dishes
table—a custom of classic usage, and which still lingers to this day
Queen's College, Oxford, in the song with which the choristers usher in
boar's head on Christmas-day, and at our modern public dinners,

* The king's minstrel of the last Saxon king is mentioned in Domesday Book as hold-
lands in Gloucestershire.

† In the reign of Henry I., Rayer was the King's Minstrel. Temp. Henry II., it was
lfrid, or Jeffrey. Temp. Richard I., Blondel, of romantic memory. Temp. Henry III.,
ster Ricard. It was the Harper of Prince Edward (afterwards King Edward I.) who
ined the assassin who attempted the Prince's life, when his noble wife Eleanor risked
s to extract the poison from the wound. In Edward I.'s reign we have mention of a
ng Robert, who may be the impetuous minstrel of the Prince. Temp. Edward II.,
re occur two: a grant of houses was made to William de Morley, the King's Min-
el, which had been held by his predecessor, John de Boteler. At St. Bride's, Glamor-
shire, is the insculpt effigy of a knightly figure, of the date of Edward I., with an
cription to John le Boteler; but there is nothing to identify him with the king of the
nstrels. Temp. Richard II., John Camuz was the king of his minstrels. When
ny V. went to France, he took his fifteen minstrels, and Walter Haliday, their Mar-
l, with him. After this time the chief of the royal minstrels seems to have been styled
rshal instead of King; and in the next reign but one we find a *Sergeant* of the Min-
els. Temp. Henry VI., Walter Haliday was still Marshal of the Minstrels;
this king issued a commission for *impressing* boys to supply vacancies in their
nber. King Edward IV. granted to the said long-lived Walter Haliday, Mar-
l, and to seven others, a charter for the restoration of a Fraternity or Gild, to be
erned by a marshal and two wardens, to regulate the minstrels throughout the realm
cept those of Chester). The minstrels of the royal chapel establishment of this king
re thirteen in number; some trumpets, some shalms, some small pipes, and others
gers. The charter of Edward IV. was renewed by Henry VIII. in 1520, to John
man, his then marshal, on whose death Hugh Wodehouse was promoted to the office.

when the band strikes up "Oh the Roast Beef of Old England," as national dish is brought to table.

We give here an illustration of such a scene from a very fine MS. of t early part of the fourteenth century, in the British Museum (marked Roy B vii., f. 184 v. and 185). A very fine representation of a similar scene occ at the foot of the large Flemish Brass of Robert Braunche and his two wi in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn; the scene is intended as a delineation feast given by the corporation of Lynn to King Edward III. Servants fi both sides of the picture are bringing in that famous dish of chivalry, peacock with his tail displayed; and two bands of minstrels are usher

A Royal Dinner.

in the banquet with their strains: the date of the brass is about 1364. In the fourteenth-century romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," we reac some knights who have arrived in presence of the romance king whom t are in quest of; dinner is immediately prepared for them; "trestles," s Ellis in his abstract of it, "were immediately set; a table covered with silken cloth was laid; a rich repast, ushered in by the sound of trump and shalms, was served up."*

Having introduced the feast, the minstrels continued to play during progress. We find numerous representations of dinners in the illuminatio in which one or two minstrels are standing beside the table, playing th instruments during the progress of the meal. In a MS. volume of roman

* Ellis's "Earl English Metrical Romances" (Bohn's edition), p. 287.

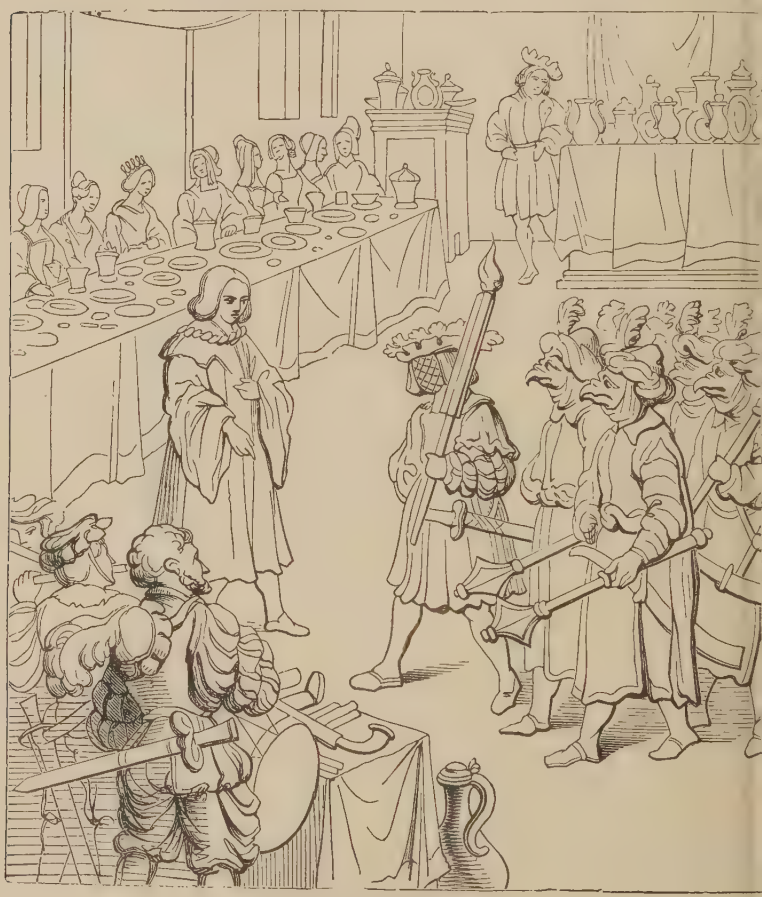
the early part of the fourteenth century in the British Museum (Royal E iii.), the title-page of the romance of the "Quête du St. Graal" folio 89 of the MS.) is adorned with an illumination of a royal banquet; quire on his knee (as in the illustration given on opposite page) is carving, d a minstrel stands beside the table playing the violin; he is dressed in parti-coloured tunic of red and blue, and wears his hat. In the Royal S. 2 B vii., at folio 168, is a similar representation of a dinner, in which minstrel stands playing the violin; he is habited in a red tunic, and is

Royal Dinner of the time of Edward IV.

reheaded. At folio 203 of the same MS. (Royal 2 B vii.), is another resentation of a dinner, in which two minstrels are introduced; one earing his hood) is playing a cittern, the other (bareheaded) is playing a lin: and these references might be multiplied.

We reproduce here, in further illustration of the subject, engravings of oyal dinner of about the time of our Edward IV., "taken from an illu- nation of the romance of the Compte d'Artois, in the possession of

M. Barrois, a distinguished and well-known collector in Paris."* other is an exceedingly interesting representation of a grand imperial



Imperial Banquet.

quet, from one of the plates of Hans Burgmair, in the volume dedica to the exploits of the Emperor Maximilian, contemporary with

* From Mr. T. Wright's "Domestic Manners of the English."

Henry VIII. It represents the entrance of a masque, one of those strange entertainments, of which our ancestors, in the time of Henry and Elizabeth, were so fond, and of which Mr. C. Kean some years ago gave the play-going world of London so accurate a representation in his *mise en scène* of Henry VIII. at the Princess's Theatre. The band of minstrels who have been performing during the banquet, are seen in the left corner of the picture.

So in "The Squier's Tale" of Chaucer, where Cambuscan is "holding his feste so solempne and so riche."

> "It so befel, that after the thridde cours,
> While that this king sat thus in his nobley,*
> Harking his ministralles her† thinges play,
> Beforne him at his bord deliciously," &c.

The custom of having instrumental music as an accompaniment of dinner

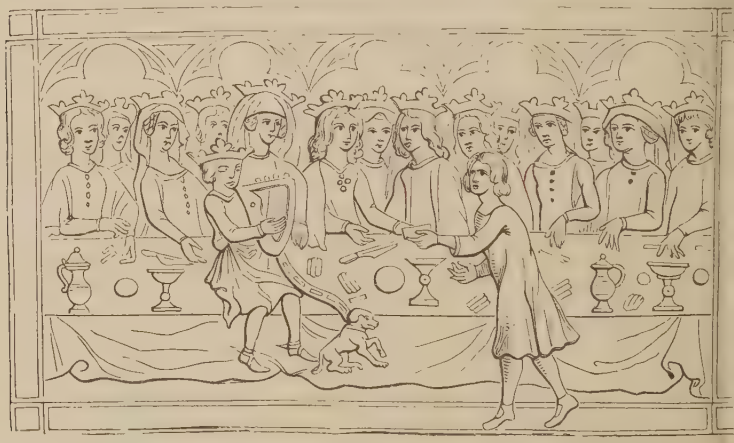
Harper.

is still retained by her Majesty and by some of the greater nobility, by military messes, and at great public dinners. But the musical accompaniment of a mediæval dinner was not confined to instrumental performances. We frequently find a harper introduced, who is doubtless reciting some romance or history, or singing chansons of a lighter character. He is often represented as sitting upon the floor, as in the accompanying illustration, from the Royal MS., 2 B vii., folio 71 b. Another similar representation

* Among his nobles. † Their.

occurs at folio 203 b of the same MS. In the following very charr picture, from a MS. volume of romances of early fourteenth century in the British Museum (Additional MS., 10,292, folio 200), the harp sitting upon the table.

Gower, in his "Confessio Amantis," gives us a description of a scer the kind. Appolinus is dining in the hall of King Pentapolin, with king and queen and their fair daughter, and all his "lordes in est Appolinus was reminded by the scene of the royal estate from which



Royal Harper.

fallen, and sorrowed and took no meat; therefore the king bade daughter take her harp and do all that she can to enliven that "s man."

> "And she to dou her fader's hest,
> Her harpe fette, and in the feste
> Upon a chaire which thei fette,
> Her selve next to this man she sette."

Appolinus in turn takes the harp, and proves himself a wonderful ficient, and

> "When he hath harped all his fille,
> The kingis hest to fulfille,
> A waie goth dishe, a waie goth cup,
> Doun goth the borde, the cloth was up,
> Thei risen and gone out of the halle."

In the sequel, the interesting stranger was made tutor to the princess, and among other teachings,

> "He taught hir till she was certeyne
> Of harpe, citole, and of riote,
> With many a tewne and many a note,
> Upon musike, upon measure,
> And of her harpe the temprure,
> He taught her eke, as he well couth."

Another occasion on which their services would be required would be for the dance. Thus we read in the sequel of "The Squire's Tale," how the king and his "nobley," when dinner was ended, rose from table, and, preceded by the minstrels, went to the great chamber for the dance :—

> "Wan that this Tartar king, this Cambuscán,
> Rose from his bord ther as he sat ful hie;
> Beforne him goth the loudé minstralcie,
> Til he come to his chambre of parements,*
> Theras they sounden divers instruments,
> That it is like an Heaven for to here.
> Now dauncen lusty Venus children dere," &c.

In the tale of Dido and Æneas, in the legend of "Good Women," he calls it especially the dancing chamber :—

Mediæval Dance.

> "To dauncing chambers full of paraments,
> Of riché bedés † and of pavements,
> This Eneas is ledde after the meat."

* Great chamber, answering to our modern drawing-room. † Couches.

But the dance was not always in the great chamber. Very commonl took place in the hall. The tables were only movable boards laid u trestles, and at the signal from the master of the house, "A hall! a hal they were quickly put aside; while the minstrels tuned their instrume anew, and the merry folly at once commenced. In the illustration, early fourteenth-century date, which we give on the preceding page, fr folio 174 of the Royal MS., 2 B vii., the scene of the dance is not in cated; the minstrels themselves appear to be joining in the saltitat which they inspire.

In the next illustration, reproduced from Mr. Wright's "Dome

A Dance in the Gallery.

Manners of the English," we have a curious picture of a dance, possil in the gallery, which occupied the whole length of the roof of most teenth-century houses; it is from M. Barrois's MS. of the "Comp D'Artois," of fifteenth-century date. In all these instances the minstr are on the floor with the dancers, but in the latter part of the Mid Ages they were probably—especially on festal occasions—placed in t music gallery over the screens, or entrance-passage, of the hall.

Marriage processions were, beyond doubt, attended by minstrels. illustration of a band consisting of tabor, bagpipes, regal, and violin, hea

ing a marriage procession, may be seen in the Roman d'Alexandre (Bodleian Library) at folio 173; and at folios 173 and 174 the wedding feast is enlivened by a more numerous band of harp, gittern, violin, regal, tabor, bagpipes, hand-bells, cymbals, and kettle-drums—which are carried on a boy's back.*

* For other illustrations of musical instruments see a good representation of Venus playing a rote, with a plectrum in the right hand, pressing the strings with the left, in the Sloane MS. 3,985, f. 44 v. Also a band, consisting of violin, organistrum (like the modern hurdy-gurdy), harp, and dulcimer, in the Harl. MS. 1,527; it represents the feast on the return of the prodigal son. In the Arundel MS. 83, f. 155, is David with a band of instruments of early fourteenth-century date, and other instruments at f. 630. In the early fourteenth-century MS. 28,162, at f. 6 v., David is tuning his harp with a key; at f. 10 v. is Dives faring sumptuously, with carver and cup-bearer, and musicians with lute and pipe.

CHAPTER II.

SACRED MUSIC.

EVERY nobleman and gentleman in the Middle Ages, we have seen, had one or more minstrels as part of his household, and among their other duties they were required to assist at the celebration of divine worship. Allusions occur perpetually in the old romances, showing that it was the universal custom to hear mass before dinner, and even-song before supper, *e.g.* : "And so they went home and unarmed them, and so to even-song and supper. . . . And on the morrow they heard mass, and after went to dinner, and to their counsel, and made many arguments what were best to do."* "The Young Children's Book," a kind of mediæval "Chesterfield's Letters to his Son," pub-

* Mallory's "History of Prince Arthur," vol. i. p. 44.

lished by the Early English Text Society, from a MS. of about 1500 A.D., in the Bodleian Library, bids its pupils—

"Aryse be tyme oute of thi bedde,
And blysse * thi brest and thi forhede,
Then wasche thi handes and thi face,
Keme thi hede and ask God grace
The to helpe in all thi workes;
Thou schalt spede better what so thou carpes.
Then go to the chyrche and here a massé,
There aske mersy for thi trespasse.
When thou hast done go breke thy faste
With mete and drynk a gode repast."

In great houses the service was performed by the chaplain in the chapel of the hall or castle, and it seems probable that the lord's minstrels assisted in the musical part of the service.

The organ doubtless continued to be, as we have seen it in Saxon times, the most usual church instrument. Thus the King of Hungary in "The Squire of Low Degree," tells his daughter:—

"Then shal ye go to your even song,
With tenours and trebles among;
* * * *
Your quere nor organ song shal want
With countre note and dyscant;
The other half on organs playing,
With young children ful fayn synging."

And in inventories of church furniture in the Middle Ages we find organs enumerated:† Not only the organ, but all instruments in common use, were probably also used in the celebration of divine worship. We meet with repeated instances in which David singing the psalms is accompanied by a band of musicians, as in the Saxon illumination on p. 272, and again in the initial letter of this chapter, which is taken from a psalter

* Viz., by making the sign of the cross upon them.

† Edward VI.'s commissioners return a pair of organs in the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, which they value at 40*s.*, and in the church of St. Peter, Parmentergate, in the same city, a pair of organs which they value at £10 (which would be equal to about £70 or £80 in these days), and soon after we find that 8*d.* were "paied to a carpenter for makyng of a plaunche (a platform of planks) to sette the organs on."

of early thirteenth-century date in the British Museum (Harl. 5,102). men of those days were in some respects much more real and prac less sentimental and transcendental, than we in religious matters. must have everything relating to divine worship of different form fashion from ordinary domestic appliances, and think it irreverent t things of ordinary domestic fashion for religious uses, or to have don things in the shapes of what we call religious art. They had only art, the best they knew, for all purposes; and they were conter apply the best of that to the service of God. Thus to their min would not appear at all unseemly that the minstrels who had acc panied the divine service in chapel should walk straight out of ch into the hall, and tune their instruments anew to play symphonies accompany chansons during dinner, or enliven the dance in the g chamber in the evening—no more unseemly than that their master his family should dine and dance as well as pray. The chapel royal e blishment of Edward IV. consisted of trumpets, shalms, and pipes, as as voices; and we may be quite sure that the custom of the royal cha was imitated by noblemen and gentlemen of estate. A good fifteen century picture of the interior of a church, showing the organ in a gall is engraved in the "Annales Archæologiques," vol. xii., p. 349. A v good representation of an organ of the latter part of the sixteenth cent (1582) is in the fine MS. Plut. 3,469, folio 27.* An organ of about t date is still preserved in that most interesting old Manor House, Igth Mote, in Kent. They were sometimes placed at the side of the chanc sometimes in the rood-loft, which occupied the same relative position the choir which the music gallery did in the hall.

In the MSS. we not unfrequently find the ordinary musical instrume placed in the hands of the angels; *e.g.*, in the early fourteenth-century M Royal 2 B. vii., in a representation of the creation, with the morning st singing together, and all the sons of God shouting for joy, an angelic ch are making melody on the trumpet, violin, cittern, shalm (or psaltery), a harp. There is another choir of angels at p. 168 of the same MS., t

* Another, with kettle-drums and trumpets, in the MS. Add. 27,675, f. 13.

ittterns and two shalms, a violin and trumpet. Similar representations ccur very significantly in churches. On the arch of the Porta Della loria of Saragossa Cathedral, of the eleventh century, from which there is cast at the entrance to the South Kensington Museum, are a set of angel instrels with musical instruments. In the bosses of the ceiling of Tewkesury Abbey Church we find angels playing the cittern (with a plectrum), ne harp (with its cover seen enveloping the lower half of the instrument)*

The Morning Stars singing together.

d the cymbals. A set of angel musicians is sculptured on the rood loft York Minster. In the triforum of the nave of Exeter Cathedral is a proting gallery for the minstrels, with sculptures of them on the front playg instruments.† In the choir of Lincoln Cathedral, some of the noble ries of angels which fill the spandrels of its arcades, and which have ven to it the name of the Angel Choir, are playing instruments, viz., e trumpet, double pipe, pipe and tabret, dulcimer, viol and harp. They present the heavenly choir attuning their praises in harmony with e human choir below: "Therefore with angels and archangels, and th all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name." here is a band of musicians sculptured on the grand portal of the thedral at Rheims; a sculptured capital from the church of St. Georges

* A harp with its case about the lower part is in the Add. MS. 18,854, f. 91.
† There are casts of these in the Mediæval Court of the Crystal Palace.

de Bocherville, now in the Museum at Rouen, represents eleven crowned figures playing different instruments.* On the chasse of St. Ursula at Bruges are angels playing instruments beautifully painted by Hemling.† We cannot resist the temptation to introduce here another charming little drawing of an angelic minstrel, playing a psaltery, from the Royal MS. 14 E iii.; others occur at folio 1 of the same MS. The band of village musicians with flute, violin, clarinet, and bass-viol, whom most of us have seen occupying the singing-gallery of some country church, are the representatives of the band of minstrels who occupied the rood-lofts in mediæval times.

An Angel Minstrel.

Clerical censors of manners during the Middle Ages frequently denounce the dissoluteness of minstrels, and the minstrels take their revenge by lampooning the vices of the clergy. Like all sweeping censures of whole classes of men, the accusations on both sides must be received cautiously. However, it is certain that the minstrels were patronised by the clergy. We shall presently find a record of the minstrels of the Bishop of Winchester in the fourteenth century; and the Ordinance of Edward II., quoted at p. 296, tells us that minstrels flocked to the houses of prelates as well as of nobles and gentlemen. In the thirteenth century, that fine sample of an English bishop, Grostête of Lincoln, was a great patron of minstrel science: he himself composed an allegorical romance, the Chasteau d'Amour. Robert de Brunne, in his English paraphrase of Grostête's Manuel de Peches (begun in 1303), gives us a charming anecdote of the Bishop's love of minstrelsy.

> "Y shall yow telle as y have herde,
> Of the bysshope seynt Robérde,
> Hys to-name ys Grostet.
> Of Lynkolne, so seyth the gest

* "Annales Archæologiques," vol. vi. p. 315. † Ibid., vol. ix. p. 329.

He loved moche to here the harpe,
For mannys witte hyt makyth sharpe.
Next hys chaumber, besyde his stody,
Hys harpers chaumbre was fast therby.
Many tymes be nyght and dayys,
He had solace of notes and layys.
One askede hym onys resun why
He hadde delyte in mynstralsy?
He answered hym on thys manere
Why he helde the harper so dere.
The vertu of the harpe, thurghe skylle and ryght,
Wyl destroy the fendes myght;
And to the croys by gode skylle
Ys the harpe lykened weyle.
Tharfor gode men, ye shul lere
Whan ye any gleman here,
To wurschep Gode al youre powére,
As Dauyde seyth yn the sautére."

We know that the abbots lived in many respects as other great ople did; they exercised hospitality to guests of gentle birth in their vn halls, treated them to the diversions of hunting and hawking over eir manors and in their forests, and did not scruple themselves to rtake in those amusements; possibly they may have retained minstrels erewith to solace their guests and themselves. It is quite certain at st that the wandering minstrels were welcome guests at the religious uses; and Warton records many instances of the rewards given to them those occasions. We may record two or three examples.

The monasteries had great annual feasts, on the ecclesiastical festivals, d often also in commemoration of some saint or founder; there was a nd service in church, and a grand dinner afterwards in the refectory. e convent of St. Swithin, in Winchester, used thus to keep the anniver- y of Alwyne the Bishop; and in the year A.D. 1374 we find that six min- els, accompanied by four harpers, performed their minstrelsies at dinner, he hall of the convent, and during supper sang the same gest in the at arched chamber of the prior, on which occasion the chamber was rned, according to custom on great occasions, with the prior's great

dorsal (a hanging for the wall behind the table), having on it a picture of the three kings of Cologne. These minstrels and harpers belonged partly to the Royal household in Winchester Castle, partly to the Bishop of Winchester. Similarly at the priory of Bicester, in Oxfordshire, in the year A.D. 1432, the treasurer of the monastery gave four shillings to six minstrels from Buckingham, for singing in the refectory, on the Feast of the Epiphany, a legend of the Seven Sleepers. In A.D. 1430 the brethren of the Holie Crosse at Abingdon celebrated their annual feast; twelve priests were hired for the occasion to help to sing the dirge with becoming solemnity, for which they received four pence each; and twelve minstrels some of whom came from the neighbouring town of Maidenhead, were rewarded with two shillings and four pence each, besides their share of the feast and food for their horses. At Mantoke Priory, near Coventry, there was a yearly obit; and in the year A.D. 1441, we find that eight priests were hired from Coventry to assist in the service, and the six minstrels of the neighbour, Lord Clinton, of Mantoke Castle, were engaged to sing, harp and play, in the hall of the monastery, at the grand refection allowed to the monks on the occasion of that anniversary. The minstrels amused the monks and their guests during dinner, and then dined themselves in the painted chamber (*camera picta*) of the monastery with the sub-prior, on which occasion the chamberlain furnished eight massy tapers of wax to light their table.

These are instances of minstrels formally invited by abbots and convents to take part in certain great festivities; but there are proofs that the wandering minstrel, who, like all other classes of society, would find hospitality in the guest-house of the monastery, was also welcomed for his minstrel skill, and rewarded for it with guerdon of money, besides his food and lodging. Warton gives instances of entries in monastic accounts for disbursements on such occasions; and there is an anecdote quoted by Percy of some dissolute monks who one evening admitted two poor priests whom they took to be minstrels, and ill-treated and turned them out again when they were disappointed of their anticipated gratification.

On the next page is a curious illumination from the Royal MS. 2 B v representing a friar and a nun themselves making minstrelsy.

At tournaments the scene was enlivened by the strains of minstrels, and horses and men inspirited to the charge by the loud fanfare of their

Nun and Friar with Musical Instruments.

struments. Thus in "The Knight's Tale," at the tournament of Palamon nd Arcite, as the king and his company rode to the lists:—

"Up gon the trumpets and the melodie,
And to the listés ride the companie."

nd again:—

"Then were the gates shut, and cried was loude
Now do your devoir youngé knightés proud.
The heralds left their pricking up and down,
Now ringen trumpets loud and clarioun.
There is no more to say, but East and West
In go the spearés sadly in the rest;
In goeth the sharpé spur into the side;
There see men who can just and who can ride.
Men shiveren shaftés upon shieldés thick,
He feeleth thro the hearte-spoon the prick."

In actual war only the trumpet and horn and tabor seem to have been ed. In "The Romance of Merlin" we read of

"Trumpés beting, tambours classing"

the midst of a battle; and again, in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale"—

"Pipes, trumpets, nakeres,* and clariouns
That in the battle blowen bloody sounds;"

* Kettle-drums.

and again, on another occasion—

> "The trumping and the tabouring,
> Did together the knights fling."

There are several instances in the Royal MS., 2 B vii., in which trumpeters are sounding their instruments in the rear of a company of charging chevaliers.

Again, when a country knight and his neighbour wished to keep their spears in practice against the next tournament, or when a couple of errant knights happened to meet at a manor-house, the lists were rudely staked out in the base-court of the castle, or in the meadow under the castle-walls; and, while the ladies looked on and waved their scarfs from the windows or the battlements, and the vassals flocked round the ropes, the minstrels gave animation to the scene. In the illustration on p. 414 from the title-page of the Royal MS., 14 E iii., a fine volume of romances of early fourteenth-century date, we are made spectators of a scene of the kind; the herald is arranging the preliminaries between the two knights who are about to joust, while a band of minstrels inspire them with their strains.

Not only at these stated periods, but at all times, the minstrels were liable to be called upon to enliven the tedium of their lord or lady with music and song; the King of Hungary (in "The Squire of Low Degree") trying to comfort his daughter for the loss of her lowly lover by the promise of all kinds of pleasures, says that in the morning—

> "Ye shall have harpe, sautry, and songe,
> And other myrthes you among."

And again a little further on, after dinner—

> "When you come home your menie amonge,
> Ye shall have revell, daunces, and songe;
> Lytle children, great and smale,
> Shall syng as doth the nightingale."

And yet again, when she is gone to bed—

> "And yf ye no rest can take,
> All night mynstrels for you shall wake."

)oubtless many of the long winter evenings, when the whole household ras assembled round the blazing wood fire in the middle of the hall, would e passed in listening to those interminable tales of chivalry which my ord's chief harper would chant to his harp, while his fellows would play a ymphony between the "fyttes." Of other occasions on which the minrels would have appropriate services to render, an entry in the Household Book of the Percy family in A.D. 1512 gives us an indication: There ere three of them at their castle in the north, a tabret, a lute, and a bec; and we find that they had a new-year's gift, "xx*s.* for playing at my rdes chamber doure on new yeares day in the mornynge; and for playng at my lordes sone and heire's chamber doure, the lord Percy, ii*s.*; nd for playing at the chamber dours of my lord's yonger sonnes, my onge masters, after viii. the piece for every of them."

But besides the official minstrels of kings, nobles, and gentlemen, shops, and abbots, and corporate towns, there were a great number of minstrels unattached," and of various grades of society, who roamed road singly or in company, from town to town, from court to camp, from stle to monastery, flocking in great numbers to tournaments and festivals d fairs, and welcomed everywhere.

The summer-time was especially the season for the wanderings of these ildren of song,* as it was of the knight-errant† and of the pilgrim‡ also. o wonder that the works of the minstrels abound as they do with charming tbursts of song on the return of the spring and summer, and the delights ich they bring. All winter long the minstrel had lain in some town, afing at its miry and unsavoury streets, and its churlish, money-getting izens; or in some hospitable castle or manor-house, perhaps, listening the wind roaring through the broad forests, and howling among the

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* In the account of the minstrel at Kenilworth, subsequently given, he is described as "squiere minstrel of Middlesex, that travelled the country this summer time."

† "Miri it is in somer's tide
Swainés gin on justing ride."

‡ "Whanne that April with his shourés sote," &c.
"Than longen folk to gon on pilgrimages."

turrets overhead, until he pined for freedom and green fields; his host perchance, grown tired of his ditties, and his only occupation to con new ones; this, from the "Percy Reliques," sounds like a verse composed at such a time:—

"In time of winter alange* it is!
The foules lesen† her bliss!
The leves fallen off the tree;
Rain alangeth ‡ the countree."

No wonder they welcomed the return of the bright, warm days, when they could resume their gay, adventurous, open-air life, in the fresh, flowery meadows, and the wide, green forest glades; roaming to town and village castle and monastery, feast and tournament; alone, or in company with a band of brother minstrels; meeting by the way with gay knights adventurous, or pilgrims not less gay—if they were like those of Chaucer's company; welcomed everywhere by priest and abbot, lord and lour These are the sort of strains which they carolled as they rested under the white hawthorn, and carelessly tinkled an accompaniment on their harps:—

"Merry is th' enté of May;
The fowles maketh merry play;
The time is hot, and long the day.
The joyful nightingale singeth,
In the grene mede flowers springeth.
* * * *
"Merry it is in somer's tide;
Fowles sing in forest wide;
Swaines gin on justing ride,
Maidens liffen hem in pride."

The minstrels were often men of position and wealth. Rayer, Raherus, the first of the king's minstrels whom we meet with after the Conquest, founded the Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, London, in the third year of Henry I., A.D. 1102, and became the first prior of his own foundation. He was not the only minstrel who turned religious. Foulquet de Marseille, first a merchant, then a minstrel of note—some of his songs have descended to these days—at length turned monk, and was made abbot of Tournet, and at length Archbishop

* Tedious, irksome. † Lose their. ‡ Renders tedious.

Toulouse, and is known in history as the persecutor of the Albigenses: he lied in 1231 A.D. It seems to have been no unusual thing for men of family o take up the wandering, adventurous life of the minstrel, much as others of the same class took up the part of knight adventurous; they frequently ravelled on horseback, with a servant to carry their harp; flocking to courts and tournaments, where the graceful and accomplished singer of chivalrous deeds was perhaps more caressed than the large-limbed warrior who achieved them; and obtained large rewards, instead of huge blows, for is guerdon.

There are some curious anecdotes showing the kind of people who became minstrels, their wandering habits, their facility of access to all companies and places, and the uses which were sometimes made of their privileges. All our readers will remember how Blondel de Nesle, the minstrel of Richard Cœur de Lion, wandered over Europe in search of his master. There is a less known instance of a similar kind and of the same period. Ela, the heiress of D'Evereux, Earl of Salisbury, had been carried abroad and secreted by her French relations in Normandy. To discover the place of her concealment, a knight of the Talbot family spent two years in exploring that province; at first under the disguise of a pilgrim; then, having found where she was confined, in order to gain admittance, he assumed the dress and character of a harper; and being a jocose person, exceedingly skilled in the Gests of the ancients, he was gladly received into the family. He succeeded in carrying off the lady, whom he restored to her liege lord the king, who bestowed her in marriage, not upon the adventurous knight-minstrel, as ought to have been the ending of so pretty a novelet, but upon his own natural brother, William Longespée, to whom he brought her earldom of Salisbury in dower.

Many similar instances, not less valuable evidences of the manners of the times because they are fiction, might be selected from the romances of the Middle Ages; proving that it was not unusual for men of birth and station* to assume, for a longer or shorter time, the character and life of the wandering minstrel.

* Fontenelle ("Histoire du Théâtre," quoted by Percy) tells us that in France, men, who by the division of the family property had only the half or the fourth part of an old

But besides these gentle minstrels, there were a multitude of others of the lower classes of society, professors of the joyous science; descending through all grades of musical skill, and of respectability of character. We find regulations from time to time intended to check their irregularities. In 1315 King Edward II. issued an ordinance addressed to sheriffs, &c., as follows: "Forasmuch as . . . . many idle persons under colour of mynstrelsie, and going in messages* and other faigned busines, have been and yet be receaved in other men's houses to meate and drynke, and be not therwith contented yf they be not largely considered with gyftes of the Lordes of the Houses, &c. . . . . We wyllyng to restrayne such outrageous enterprises and idlenes, &c., have ordeyned . . . . . that to the houses of Prelates, Earls, and Barons, none resort to meate and drynke unless he be a mynstrell, and of these mynstrels that there come none except it be three or four mynstrels of honour at most in one day unless he be desired of the Lorde of the House. And to the houses of meaner men, that none come unlesse he be desired; and that such as shall come so holde themselves contented with meate and drynke, and with such curtesie as the Master of the House wyl shewe unto them of his owne good wyll, without their askyng of any thyng. And yf any one do against this ordinaunce at the first tyme he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the second tyme to forswear his craft, and never to be received for a minstrell in any house." This curious ordinance gives additional proof of several facts which we have before noted, viz., that minstrels were well received everywhere, and had even become exacting in their expectations; that they used to wander about in bands; and the penalties seem to indicate that the minstrels were already incorporated in a guild. The first positive evidence of such

seignorial castle, sometimes went rhyming about the world, and returned to acquire the remainder of their ancestral castle.

* In the MS. illuminations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the messenger is denoted by peculiarities of equipment. He generally bears a spear, and has a very small, round target (or, perhaps, a badge of his lord's arms) at his girdle—*e.g.*, in the MS. Add. 11,639 of the close of the thirteenth century, folio 203 v. In the fifteenth century we see messengers carrying letters openly, fastened in the cleft of a split wand in the MS. of about the same date, Harl. 1,527, folio 1,080, and in the fourteenth century MS. Add. 10,293, folio 15; and in Hans Burgmaier's Der Weise Könige.

uild is in the charter (already alluded to) of 9th King Edward IV, .D. 1469, in which he grants to Walter Haliday, *Marshall*, and seven thers, his own minstrels, a charter by which he restores a Fraternity r perpetual Guild (such as he understands the brothers and sisters of ne Fraternity of Minstrels had in times past), to be governed by a marhall, appointed for life, and by two wardens, to be chosen annually, vho are empowered to admit brothers and sisters into the guild, and re authorised to examine the pretensions of all such as affect to exercise ne minstrel profession; and to regulate, govern, and punish them throughut the realm—those of Chester excepted. It seems probable that the King's Minstrel, or the King of the Minstrels, had long previously possessed an authority of this kind over all the members of the profession, and hat the organization very much resembled that of the heralds. The two re mentioned together in the Statute of Arms for Tournaments, passed in ne reign of Edward I., A.D. 1295. "E qe nul Roy de Harraunz ne Menestrals* portent privez armez:" that no King of the Heralds or of the Minstrels shall carry secret weapons. That the minstrels attended all ournaments we have already mentioned. The heralds and minstrels are ften coupled in the same sentence; thus Froissart tells us that at a Christmas entertainment given by the Earl of Foix, there were many ninstrels, as well his own as strangers, "and the Earl gave to Heraulds nd Minstrelles the sum of fyve hundred frankes; and gave to the Duke f Tourayne's mynstreles gowns of cloth of gold furred with ermine, valued t 200 frankes."†

* It is right to state that one MS. of this statute gives Mareschans instead of Menesals; but the reading in the text is that preferred by the Record Commission, who have ublished the whole of the interesting document.

† In the romance of Richard Cœur de Lion we read that, after the capture of Acre, e distributed among the "heralds, disours, tabourers, and trompours," who accompanied m, the greater part of the money, jewels, horses, and fine robes which had fallen to his are. We have many accounts of the lavish generosity with which chivalrous lords opitiated the favourable report of the heralds and minstrels, whose good report was me.

CHAPTER III.

GUILDS OF MINSTRELS.

IT is not unlikely that the principal minstrel of every great noble exercised some kind of authority over all minstrels within his lord's jurisdiction. There are several famous instances of something of this kind on record. The earliest is that of the authority granted by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to the Duttons over all minstrels of his jurisdiction; for the romantic origin of the grant the curious reader may see the Introductory Essay to Percy's "Reliques," or the original authorities in Dugdale's "Monasticon," and D. Powel's "History of Cambria."

The Beverley Minstrels.

The ceremonies attending the exercise of this authority are thus described by Dugdale, as handed down to his time:—viz., "That at Midsummer fair there, all the minstrels of that countrey resorting to Chester, do attend the heir of Dutton from his lodging to St. John's Church (he being then

ccompanied by many gentlemen of the countrey), one of the minstrels alking before him in a surcoat of his arms, depicted on taffeta; the rest f his fellows proceeding two and two, and playing on their several sorts f musical instruments. And after divine service ended, gave the like ttendance on him back to his lodging; where a court being kept by his Mr. Dutton's) steward, and all the minstrels formally called, certain orders nd laws are usually made for the better government of that society, with enalties on those that transgress." This court, we have seen, was xempted from the jurisdiction of the King of the Minstrels by Edward IV., s it was also from the operation of all Acts of Parliament on the subject own to so late a period as the seventeenth year of George II., the last f them. In the fourth year of King Richard II., John* of Gaunt created court of minstrels at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, similar to that at Chester; n the charter (which is quoted in Dr. Plott's "History of Staffordshire," . 436) he gives them a King of the Minstrels and four officers, with a egal authority over the men of their craft in the five adjoining counties of tafford, Derby, Notts, Leicester, and Warwick. The form of election, as existed at a comparatively late period, is fully detailed by Dr. Plott.

Another of these guilds was the ancient company or fraternity of min-trels in Beverley, of which an account is given in Poulson's "Beverlac" p. 302). When the fraternity originated we do not know; but they were f some consideration and wealth in the reign of Henry VI., when the Church of St. Mary's, Beverley, was built; for they gave a pillar to it, on he capital of which a band of minstrels are sculptured, of whom we here e-produce a drawing from Carter's "Ancient Painting and Sculpture," to hich we shall have presently to ask the reader's further attention. The ldest existing document of the fraternity is a copy of laws of the time of hilip and Mary. They are similar to those by which all trade guilds ere governed: their officers were an alderman and two stewards or sears

* May we infer from the exemption of the jurisdiction of the Duttons, and not of at of the court of Tutbury and the guild of Beverley, that the jurisdiction of the King the Minstrels over the whole realm was established after the former, and before the ter? The French minstrels were incorporated by charter, and had a king in the year 30, forty-seven years before Tutbury. In the ordonnance of Edward II., 1315, there is allusion to such a general jurisdiction.

(*i.e.* seers, searchers); the only items in their laws which throw much additional light upon our subject are the one already partly quoted, that they should not take "any new brother except he be mynstrell to some man of honour or worship (proving that men of honour and worship still had minstrels), or waite * of some towne corporate or other ancient town, or else of such honestye and conyng as shall be thought laudable and pleasant to the hearers there." And again, "no myler, shepherd, or of

Goatherds playing Musical Instruments.

other occupation, or husbandman, or husbandman servant, playing upon pype or other instrument, shall sue any wedding, or other thing that pertaineth to the said science, except in his own parish." We may here

* One of the minstrels of King Edward the Fourth's household (there were thirteen others) was called the *wayte;* it was his duty to "pipe watch." In the romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion," when Richard, with his fleet, has come silently in the night under the walls of Jaffa, which was besieged on the land side by the Saracen army :—

"They looked up to the castel,
They heard no pipe, ne flagel,[1]
They drew em nigh to land,
If they mighten understand,
And they could ne nought espie,
Ne by no voice of minstralcie,
That quick man in the castle were."

And so they continued in uncertainty until the spring of the day, then

"A wait there came, in a kernel,[2]
And piped a nott in a flagel."

And when he recognised King Richard's galleys,

"Then a merrier note he blew,
And piped, 'Seigneurs or sus! or sus!
King Richard is comen to us!'"

[1] Flageolet. [2] Battlement.

igress for a moment to say that the shepherds, throughout the Middle ages, seem to have been as musical as the swains of Theocritus or Virgil; n the MS. illuminations we constantly find them represented playing upon nstruments; we give a couple of goatherds from the MS. Royal 2 B vii. olio 83, of early fourteenth-century date.

Besides the pipe and horn, the bagpipe was lso a rustic instrument. There is a shepherd playng upon one in folio 112 of the same MS.; and gain, in the early fourteenth-century MS. Royal B vi., on the reverse of folio 8, is a group of hepherds, one of whom plays a small pipe, and nother the bagpipes. Chaucer (3rd Book of he "House of Fame") mentions—

Shepherd with Bagpipes.

> "Pipes made of greené corne,
> As have these little herd gromes,
> That keepen beastés in the bromes."

t is curious to find that even at so late a period as the time of Queen Mary, he shepherds still officiated at weddings and other merrymakings in their illages, so as to excite the jealousy of the professors of the joyous science.

Rustic Merry-making.

The accompanying wood-cut, from a MS. in the French National Library, may represent such a rustic merry-making

One might, perhaps, have been disposed to think that the good minstrels of Beverley were only endeavouring to revive usages which had fallen into desuetude; but we find that in the time of Elizabeth the profession of minstrelsy was sufficiently universal to call for the inquiry, in the Injunctions of 1559, "Whether any minstrells, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs or ditties that be vile or unclean."

Ben Jonson gives us numerous allusions to them: *e.g.*, in the "Tale of a Tub," old Turve talks of "old Father Rosin, the chief minstrel here—chief minstrel, too, of Highgate; she has hired him, and all his two boys, for a day and a half." They were to be dressed in bays, rosemary, and ribands, to precede the bridal party across the fields to church and back, and to play at dinner. And so in "Epicœne," act iii. sc. 1:—

"Well, there be guests to meat now; how shall we do for music?" [for Morose's wedding.]

Clerimont.—The smell of the venison going thro' the street will invite one noise of fiddlers or other.

Dauphine.—I would it would call the trumpeters hither!

Clerimont.—Faith, there is hope: they have intelligence of all feasts. There's a good correspondence betwixt them and the London cooks: 'tis twenty to one but we have them."

And Dryden, so late as the time of William III., speaks of them—

> "These fellows
> Were once the minstrels of a country show,
> Followed the prizes through each paltry town,
> By trumpet cheeks and bloated faces known."

There were also female minstrels throughout the Middle Ages; but, as might be anticipated from their irregular wandering life, they bore an indifferent reputation. The romance of "Richard Cœur de Lion" says that it was a female minstrel, and, still worse, an Englishwoman, who recognised and betrayed the knight-errant king and his companions, on their return from the Holy Land, to his enemy, the "King of Almain." The passage is worth quoting, as it illustrates several of the traits of minstrel habits which we have already recorded. After Richard and his companions had dined on a goose, which they cooked for themselves at a tavern—

"When they had drunken well afin,
A minstralle com therin,
And said 'Gentlemen, wittily,
Will ye have any minstrelsey?'
Richard bade that she should go.
That turned him to mickle woe!
The minstralle took in mind,*
And saith, 'Ye are men unkind;
And if I may, ye shall for-think †
Ye gave neither meat nor drink.
For gentlemen should bede ‡
To minstrels that abouten yede §
Of their meat, wine, and ale;
For los ‖ rises of minstrale.'
She was English, and well true
By speech, and sight, and hide, and hue."

Stow tells that in 1316, while Edward II. was solemnizing his Feast Pentecost in his hall at Westminster, sitting royally at table, with his eers about him, there entered a woman adorned like a minstrel, sitting on great horse, trapped as minstrels then used, who rode round about the bles showing her pastime. The reader will remember the use which Sir . B. Lytton has made of a troop of tymbesteres "The Last of the Barons," bringing them in the epochs of his tale with all the dramatic fect of the Greek chorus: the description which he ves of their habits is too sadly truthful. The aughter of Herodias dancing before Herod is scorn-lly represented by the mediæval artists as a female instrel performing the tumbling tricks which were rt of their craft. We give a representation of a male minstrel playing the tambourine from the MS. oyal, 2 B vii. folio 182.

Female Minstrel.

A question of considerable interest to artists, no ss than to antiquaries, is whether the minstrels were or not distinguished

* Was offended. † Repent. ‡ Give. § Travel. ‖ Praise

by any peculiar costume or habit. Bishop Percy* and his followers say that they were, and the assertion is grounded on the following evidences. Baldulph, the Saxon, in the anecdote already related, when assuming the disguise of a minstrel, is described as shaving his head and beard, and dressing himself in the habit of that profession. Alfred and Aulaff were known at once to be minstrels. The two poor priests who were turned out of the monastery by the dissolute monks were at first mistaken for minstrels. The woman who entered Westminster Hall at King Edward the Second's Pentecost feast was adorned like a minstrel, sitting on a great horse, trapped as minstrels then used.

The Knight of La Tour-Landry (chap. xvii.) tells a story which shows that the costume of minstrels was often conspicuous for richness and fashion: "As y have herde telle, Sir Piere de Luge was atte the feste where as were gret foyson of lordes, ladies, knightes, and squieres, and gentil women, and so there came in a yonge squier before hem that was sette atte dyner and salued the companie, and he was clothed in a cote-hardy† upon the guyse of Almayne, and in this wise he come further before the lordes and ladies, and made hem goodly reverence. And so the said Sir Piere called this yonge squier with his voys before alle the statis, and saide unto hym and axed hym, where was his fedylle or hys ribible, or suche an instrument as longethe unto a mynstralle. 'Syr,' saide the squier, 'I cannot medille me of such thinge, it is not my craft nor science.' 'Sir,' saide the knight, 'I canne not trowe that ye saye, for ye be counterfait in your araye and lyke unto a mynstralle; for I have knowe herebefore alle your aunsetours, and the knightes and squiers of youre kin, which were alle worthi men; but I sawe never none of hem that were [wore] counterfait, nor that clothed hem in such array.' And thanne the yonge squier answered the knight and saide, 'Sir, by as moche as it mislykithe you it shalle be amended,' and cleped a pursevant and gave him the cote-hardy. And he abled hym selff in an other gowne, and come agen into the halle, and thanne the anncyen knight saide openly, 'This yonge squier shalle have

* Introduction to his "Reliques of Early English Poetry."

† The close-fitting outer garment worn in the fourteenth century, shown in the engravings on p. 350.

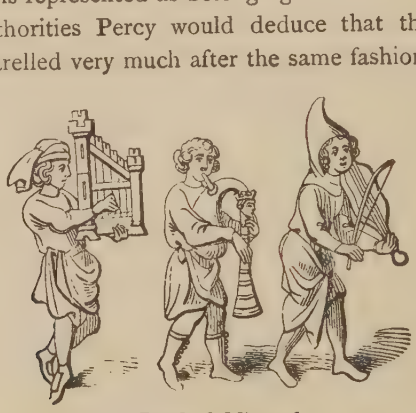
orshipe for he hath trowed and do bi the counsaile of the elder with-
ute ani contraryenge.'"

In the time of Henry VII. we read of nine ells of *tawny* cloth for three
instrels; and in the "History of Jack of Newbury," of "a noise [*i.e.* band]
musicians in *townie* coats, who, putting off their caps, asked if they would
ve music." And lastly, there is a description of the person who personated
an ancient mynstrell" in one of the pageants which were played before
ueen Elizabeth at her famous visit to Kenilworth, which is curious
ough to be quoted. "A person, very meet seemed he for the purpose,
a forty-five years old, apparalled partly as he would himself. His cap
; his head seemly rounded tonsterwise;* fair kembed, that with a
onge daintily dipped in a little capon's grease was finely smoothen, to
ke it shine like a mallard's wing. His beard smugly shaven; and yet
shirt after the new trick, with ruffs fair starched, sleeked and glistering
e a paire of new shoes, marshalled in good order with a setting stick
d strut, that every ruff stood up like a wafer. A side (*i.e.* long) gown of
endal Green, after the freshness of the year now, gathered at the neck
h a narrow gorget, fastened afore with white clasp and keeper close up
the chin; but easily, for heat to undo when he list. Seemly begirt in a
caddis girdle: from that a pair of capped Sheffield knives hanging
wo sides. Out of his bosom drawn forth a lappel of his napkin (*i.e.*
ndkerchief) edged with a blue lace, and marked with a true love, a
rt, and a D. for Damian, for he was but a batchelor yet. His gown
side (*i.e.* long) sleeves down to midleg, slit from the shoulder to the
nd, and lined with white cotton. His doublet sleeves of black worsted:
on them a pair of paynets (perhaps points) of tawny chamlet laced
ng the wrist with blue threaden points, a veall towards the hand of
ian-a-napes. A pair of red neather socks. A pair of pumps on his
, with a cross cut at the toes for corns: not new, indeed, yet cleanly
ckt with soot, and shining as a shoeing horn. About his neck a red
and suitable to his girdle. His harp in good grace dependant before
. His wrest tyed to a green lace, and hanging by; under the gorget

* Which Percy supposes to mean "tonsure-wise," like priests and monks.

of his gown a fair flaggon chain (pewter for) silver, as a squire-minstrel * of Middlesex that travelled the country this summer season, unto fairs and worshipful men's houses. From this chain hung a scutcheon, with metal and colour resplendant upon his breast, of the ancient arms of Islington,' to which place he is represented as belonging.

From these authorities Percy would deduce that the minstrels were tonsured and apparelled very much after the same fashion as priests. The



A Band of Minstrels.

pictorial authorities do not bear out any such conclusion. There are abundant authorities for the belief that the dress of the minstrels was remarkable for a very unclerical sumptuousness; but in looking through the numerous ancient representations of minstrels we find no trace of the tonsure, and no peculiarity of dress; they are represented in the ordinary costume of their time; in colours blue, red, grey, particoloured, like other civilians; with hoods, or hats, or without either; frequently the different members of the same band of minstrels present all these differences

* Percy supposes from this expression that there were inferior orders, as yeoman minstrels. May we not also infer that there were superior orders, as knight-minstrels over whom was the king-minstrel? for we are told "he was but a batchelor (who chivalric signification has no reference to matrimony) yet." We are disposed to believe that this was a real minstrel. Langham tells us that he was dressed "partly as he would himself:" probably, the only things which were not according to his wont, were that my Lord of Leicester may have given him a new coat; that he had a little more capon's grease than usual in his hair; and that he was set to sing "a solemn song, warranted from story, out of King Arthur's Acts," instead of more modern minstrel ware.

stume, as in the instance here given, from the title-page of the fourteenth ntury MS. Add., 10,293; proving that the minstrels did not affect any iformity of costume whatever.

The household minstrels probably wore their master's badge* (liveries re not usual until a late period); others the badge of their guild. Thus the Morte Arthur, Sir Dinadan makes a reproachful lay against King thur, and teaches it an harper, that hight Elyot, and sends him to sing before King Mark and his nobles at a great feast. The king asked, Thou harper, how durst thou be so bold to sing this song before me?" ir," said Elyot, "wit you well I am a minstrell, and I must doe as I am mmanded of these lords that *I bear the armes of*;" and in proof of the vileged character of the minstrel we find the outraged king replying, Thou saiest well, I charge thee that thou hie thee fast out of my sight." the squire-minstrel of Middlesex, who belonged to Islington, had a

Cymbals and Trumpets.

in round his neck, with a scutcheon upon it, upon which were blazoned arms of Islington. And in the effigies of the Beverley minstrels, ch we have given on page 298, we find that their costume is ordinary costume of the period, and is not alike in all; but that h of them has a chain round his neck, to which is suspended what is bably a scutcheon, like that of the Islington minstrel. In short, a

Heralds in the fourteenth century bore the arms of their lord on a small scutcheon ned at the side of their girdle.

careful examination of a number of illustrations in illuminated MSS. of various dates, from Saxon downwards, leaves the impression that minstrel

Regals and Double Pipe (Royal 2 B vii).

wore the ordinary costume of their period, more or less rich in material, c fashionable in cut, according to their means and taste; and that the onl

Regals or Organ (Royal, 14 E iii).

distinctive mark of their profession was the instrument which each bo or, as in the case of the Kenilworth minstrel, the tuning wrest hung by

band to his girdle; and in the case of a household minstrel the badge of the lord whom he served.

The forms of the most usual musical instruments of various periods may be gathered from the illustrations which have already been given. The most common are the harp, fiddle, cittern or lute, hand-organ, the shalm or psaltery, the pipe and tabor, pipes of various sizes played like clarionets, but called flutes, the double pipe, hand-bells, trumpets and horns, bagpipes, tambourine, tabret, drum, and cymbals. Of the greater number of these we have already incidentally given illustrations; we add, on the present page, other illustrations, from the Royal MS., 2 B vii., and Royal MS. 14 E iii. In the fourteenth century new instruments were invented. Guillaume de Marhault in his poem of "Le Temps Pastour," gives us an idea of the multitude of instruments which composed a grand concert of the fifteenth century; he says *—

"Là je vis tout en un cerne
Viole, rubebe, guiterne,
L'enmorache, le micamon,
Citole et Psalterion,
Harpes, tabours, trompes, nacaires,
Orgues, cornes plus de dix paires,
Cornemuse, flajos et chevrettes
Douceines, simbales, clochettes,
Tymbre, la flauste lorehaigne,
Et le grand cornet d'Allemayne,
Flacos de sans, fistule, pipe,
Muse d'Aussay, trompe petite,
Buisine, eles, monochorde,
Ou il n' y a qu'une corde;
Et muse de blet tout ensemble.
Et certainment il me semble
Qu' oncques mais tèle mélodie
Ne feust oncques vene ne oye;
Car chascun d'eux, selon l'accort
De son instrument sans descort,
Vitole, guiterne, citole,
Harpe, trompe, corne, flajole,
Pipe, souffle, muse, naquaire,
Taboure et qu eunque ou put faire

* "Annales Archæologiques," vii. p. 323.

De dois, de peune et à l'archet,
Ois et vis en ce porchet."

In conclusion we give a group of musical instruments from one of thee illustrations of "Der Weise König," a work of the close of the fifteenth century.

Musical Instruments of the 15th Century.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

SAXON ARMS AND ARMOUR.

WE proceed, in this division of our work, to select out of the inexhaustible series of pictures of mediæval life and manners contained in illuminated MSS., a gallery of subjects which will lustrate the armour and costume, the military life and chivalric adventures, f the Knights of the Middle Ages; and to append to the pictures such xplanations as they may seem to need, and such discursive remarks as ıe subjects may suggest.

For the military costume of the Anglo-Saxon period we have the uthority of the descriptions in their literature, illustrated by drawings in ıeir illuminated MSS.; and if these leave anything wanting in definiteness, ıe minutest details of form and ornamentation may often be recovered om the rusted and broken relics of armour and weapons which have een recovered from their graves, and are now preserved in our museums.

Saxon freemen seem to have universally borne arms. Tacitus tells us of ıeir German ancestors, that swords were rare among them, and the majority id not use lances, but that spears, with a narrow, sharp and short head, ere the common and universal weapon, used either in distant or close fight; nd that even the cavalry were satisfied with a shield and one of these spears.

The law in later times seems to have required freemen to bear arms for

the common defence; the laws of Gula, which are said to have been originally established by Hacon the Good in the middle of the eighth century, required every man who possessed six marks besides his clothes to furnish himself with a red shield and a spear, an axe or a sword; he who was worth twelve marks was to have a steel cap also; and he who was worth eighteen marks a byrnie, or shirt of mail, in addition. Accordingly in the exploration of Saxon graves we find in those of men "spears and javelins are extremely numerous," says Mr. C. Roach Smith, "and of a variety of shapes and sizes." . . . . . "So constantly do we find them in the Saxon graves, that it would appear no man above the condition of a serf was buried without one. Some are of large size, but the majority come under the term of javelin or dart." The rusty spear-head lies beside the skull, and the iron boss of the shield on his breast; the long, broad, heavy, rusted sword is comparatively seldom found beside the skeleton; sometimes, but rarely, the iron frame of a skull-cap or helmet is found about the head.

Saxon Soldiers.

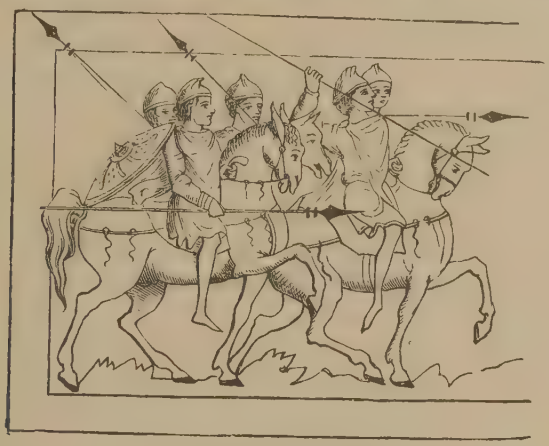
An examination of the pictures in the Saxon illuminated MSS. confirms the conclusion that the shield and spear were the common weapons. Their bearers are generally in the usual civil costume, and not infrequently are bare-headed. The spear-shaft is almost always spoken of as being of ash-wood; indeed, the word *æsc* (ash) is used by metonymy for a spear; and the common poetic name for a soldier is *æsc-berend*, or *æsc-born*, a spear-bearer; just as, in later times we speak of him as a swordsman.

We learn from the poets that the shield—"the broad war disk"—was made of linden-wood, as in Beowulf:—

> "He could not then refrain,
> but grasped his shield
> the yellow linden,
> drew his ancient sword."

From the actual remains of shields, we find that the central boss was of on, of conical shape, and that a handle was fixed across its concavity by hich it was held in the hand.

The helmet is of various shapes; the commonest are the three repre-



Saxon Horse Soldiers.

nted in our first four wood-cuts. The most common is the conical shape en in the large wood-cut on p. 316.

The Phrygian-shaped helmet, seen in the single figure on p. 314 is also very common form; and the curious crested helmet worn by all the rriors in our first two wood-cuts of Saxon soldiers is also common. In me cases the conical helmet was of iron, but perhaps more frequently it s of leather, strengthened with a frame of iron.

In the group of four foot soldiers in our first wood-cut, it will be observed at the men wear tunics, hose, and shoes; the multiplicity of folds and ttering ends in the drapery is a characteristic of Saxon art, but the spirit d elegance of the heads is very unusual and very admirable.

Our first three illustrations are taken from a beautiful little MS. of Prudentius in the Cottonian Library, known under the press mark, Cleopatra IV. The illuminations in this MS. are very clearly and skilfully drawn h the pen; indeed, many of them are designed with so much spirit and

skill and grace, as to make them not only of antiquarian interest, but also of high artistic merit. The subjects are chiefly illustrations of Scripture history or of allegorical fable; but, thanks to the custom which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages of representing all such subjects in contemporary costume, and according to contemporary manners and customs, the Jewish patriarchs and their servants afford us perfectly correct representations of Saxon thanes and their *cheorls;* Goliath, a perfect picture of a Saxon warrior, armed *cap-à-pied*; and Pharaoh and his nobles of a Saxon Basileus and his witan. Thus, our second wood-cut is an illustration of the incident of Lot and his family being carried away captives by the Canaanitish kings after their successful raid against the cities of the plain, but it puts before our eyes a group of the armed retainers of a Saxon king on a military expedition. It will be seen that they wear the ordinary Saxon civil costume, a tunic and cloak; that they are all armed with the spear, all wear crested helmets; and the last of the group carries a round shield suspended at his back. The variety of attitude, the spirit and life of the figures, and the skill and gracefulness of the drawing, are admirable.

Another very valuable series of illustrations of Saxon military costume will be found in a MS. of Ælfric's Paraphrase on the Pentateuch and Joshua, in the British Museum (Cleopatra B. IV.); at folio 25, for example, we have a representation of Abraham pursuing the five kings in order to rescue Lot: in the version of the Saxon artist the patriarch and his Arab servants are translated into a Saxon thane and his house carles, who are represented marching in a long array which takes up two bands of drawing across the vellum page.

Saxon Soldier, in Leather Armour.

The Anglo-Saxon poets let us know that chiefs tains and warriors wore a body defence, which they call a byrnie or a battle-sark. In the illuminations we find this sometimes of leather, as in the wood-cut here given from the Prudentius which has already supplied us with two illustrations. It is very usually Vandyked at the edges, as

ere represented. But the epithets, "iron byrnie," and "ringed byrnie," nd "twisted battle-sark," show that the hauberk was often made of iron ail. In some of the illuminations it is represented as if detached rings of on were sewn flat upon it: this may be really a representation of a kind f jazerant work, such as was frequently used in later times, or it may be nly an unskilful way of representing the ordinary linked mail.

A document of the early part of the eighth century, given in Mr. Thorpe's nglo-Saxon Laws, seems to indicate that at that period the mail hauberk as usually worn only by the higher ranks. In distinguishing between the orl and the cheorl it says, if the latter thrive so well that he have a helmet nd byrnie and sword ornamented with gold, yet if he have not five hydes f land, he is only a cheorl. By the time of the end of the Saxon era, owever, it would seem that the men-at-arms were usually furnished with a oat of fence, for the warriors in the battle of Hastings are nearly all so epresented in the Bayeux tapestry.

In Ælfric's Paraphrase, already mentioned (Cleopatra B. iv.), at folio 64, ere is a representation of a king clothed in such a mail shirt, armed with word and shield, attended by an armour-bearer, who carries a second hield but no offensive weapon, his business being to ward off the blows med at his lord. We should have given a wood-cut of this interesting roup, but that it has already been engraved in the "Pictorial History of ngland" (vol. i.) and in Hewitt's "Ancient Armour" (vol. i. p. 60). his king with his shield-bearer does not occur in an illustration of oliath and the man bearing a shield who went before him, nor of Saul nd his armour-bearer, where it would be suggested by the text; but is ne of the three kings engaged in battle against the cities of the plain; seems therefore to indicate a Saxon usage. Another of the kings in ne same picture has no hauberk, but only the same costume as the warrior the wood-cut on the next page.

In the Additional MS. 11,695, in the British Museum, a work of the eventh century, there are several representations of warriors thus fully rmed, very rude and coarse in drawing, but valuable for the clearness ith which they represent the military equipment of the time. At folio 94 there is a large figure of a warrior in a mail shirt, a conical helmet,

strengthened with iron ribs converging to the apex, the front rib extending
downwards, into what is called a nasal, *i.e.*, a piece of iron extending
downwards over the nose, so as to protect the face from a sword-cut across
the upper part of it. At folio 233 of the same MS. is a group of six
warriors, two on horseback and four on foot. We find them all with

No. 4.

hauberk, iron helmets, round shields, and various kinds of leg defences;
they have spears, swords, and one of the horsemen bears a banner of
characteristic shape, *i.e.*, it is a right-angled triangle, with the shortest side
applied to the spear-shaft, so that the right angle is at the bottom.

A few extracts from the poem of Beowulf, a curious Saxon fragment, which the best scholars concur in assigning to the end of the eighth century, will help still further to bring these ancient warriors before our mind's eye.

Here is a scene in King Hrothgar's hall:

"After evening came
and Hrothgar had departed
to his court,
guarded the mansion
countless warriors,
as they oft ere had done,
they bared the bench-floor
it was overspread
with beds and bolsters.
they set at their heads
their disks of war,
their shield-wood bright;
there on the bench was
over the noble,
easy to be seen,
his high martial helm,
his ringed byrnie
and war-wood stout."

Beowulf's funeral pole is said to be—

"with helmets, war brands,
and bright byrnies behung."

nd in this oldest of Scandinavian romances we have the natural reflec ons—

"the hard helm shall
adorned with gold
from the fated fall;
mortally wounded sleep
those who war to rage
by trumpet should announce;
in like manner the war shirt
which in battle stood
over the crash of shields
the bite of swords
shall moulder after the warrior;
the byrnie's ring may not

after the martial leader
go far on the side of heroes;
there is no joy of harp
no glee-wood's mirth,
no good hawk
swings through the hall,
nor the swift steed
tramps the city place.
Baleful death
has many living kinds
sent forth."

Reflections which Coleridge summed up in the brief lines—

"Their swords are rust,
Their bones are dust,
Their souls are with the saints, we trust."

The wood-cut on page 316 is taken from a collection of various Saxo pictures in the British Museum, bound together in the volume marke Tiberius C. VI., at folio 9. Our wood-cut is a reduced copy. In the origin the warrior is seven or eight inches high, and there is, therefore, ample roo for the delineation of every part of his costume. From the embroidery the tunic, and the ornamentation of the shield and helmet, we conclu that we have before us a person of consideration, and he is represent as in the act of combat; but we see his armour and arms are only tho to which we have already affirmed that the usual equipment was limite The helmet seems to be strengthened with an iron rim and convergi ribs, and is furnished with a short nasal.

The figure is without the usual cloak, and therefore the better shows t fashion of the tunic. The banding of the legs was not for defence, it common in civil costume. The quasi-banding of the forearm is also som times found in civil costume; it seems not to be an actual banding, s less a spiral armlet, but merely a fashion of wearing the tunic sleeve. see how the sword is, rather inartificially, slung by a belt over t shoulder; how the shield is held by the iron handle across its holl spiked umbo; and how the barbed javelin is cast.

On the preceding page of this MS. is a similar figure, but without t sword.

There were some other weapons frequently used by the Saxons which we have not yet had occasion to mention. The most important of these is the axe. It is not often represented in illuminations, and is very rarely found in graves, but it certainly was extensively in use in the latter part of the Anglo-Saxon period, and was perhaps introduced by the Danes. The house carles of Canute, we are expressly told, were armed with axes, halberds, and swords, ornamented with gold. In the ship which Godwin presented to Hardicanute, William of Malmesbury tells us the soldiers wore two bracelets of gold on each arm, each bracelet weighing sixteen ounces; they had gilt helmets; in the right hand they carried a spear of iron, and in the left a Danish axe, and they wore swords hilted with gold. The axe was also in common use by the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. There are pictorial examples of the single axe in the Cottonian MS., Cleopatra C. VIII.; of the double axe—the bipennis—in the Harleian MS., 603; and of various forms of the weapon, including the pole-axe, in the Bayeux tapestry.

The knife or dagger was also a Saxon weapon. There is a picture in the Anglo-Saxon MS. in the Paris Library, called the Duke de Berri's Psalter, in which a combatant is armed with what appears to be a large double-edged knife and a shield, and actual examples of it occur in Saxon graves. The *seax*, which is popularly believed to have been a dagger and a characteristic Saxon weapon, seems to have been a short single-edged slightly curved weapon, and is rarely found in England. It is mentioned in Beowulf:—he—

> "drew his deadly seax,
> bitter and battle sharp,
> that he on his byrnie bore."

The sword was usually about three feet long, two-edged and heavy in the blade. Sometimes, especially in earlier examples, it is without a guard. Its hilt was sometimes of the ivory of the walrus, occasionally of gold, the blade was sometimes inlaid with gold ornaments and runic verses. Thus in Beowulf—

> "So was on the surface
> of the bright gold

with runic letters
rightly marked,
set and said, for whom that sword,
costliest of irons,
was first made,
with twisted hilt and
serpent shaped."

The Saxons indulged in many romantic fancies about their swords. Son swordsmiths chanted magical verses as they welded them, and temper them with mystical ingredients. Beowulf's sword was a—

"tempered falchion
that had before been one
of the old treasures;
its edge was iron
tainted with poisonous things
hardened with warrior blood;
never had it deceived any man
of those who brandished it with hands."

Favourite swords had names given them, and were handed down fro father to son, or passed from champion to champion, and became famo Thus, again, in Beowulf, we read—

"He could not then refrain,
but grasped his shield,
the yellow linden,
drew his ancient sword
that among men was
a relic of Eanmund,
Ohthere's son,
of whom in conflict was,
when a friendless exile,
Weohstan the slayer
with falchions edges,
and from his kinsmen bore away
the brown-hued helm,
the ringed byrnie,
the old Eotenish* sword
which him Onela had given."

There is a fine and very perfect example of a Saxon sword in t

* "Eoten," a giant; "Eotenish," made by or descended from the giants.

British Museum, which was found in the bed of the river Witham, at Lincoln. The sheath was usually of wood, covered with leather, and tipped, and sometimes otherwise ornamented with metal.

The spear was used javelin-wise, and the warrior going into battle sometimes carried several of them. They are long-bladed, often barbed, as represented in the woodcut on p. 316, and very generally have one or two little cross-bars below the head, as in cuts on pp. 313 and 314. The Saxon artillery, besides the javelin, was the bow and arrows. The bow is usually a small one, of the old classical shape, not the long bow for which the English yeomen afterwards became so famous, and which seems to have been introduced by the Normans.

In the latest period of the Saxon monarchy, the armour and weapons were almost identical with those used on the Continent. We have abundant illustrations of them in the Bayeux tapestry. In that invaluable historical monument, the minutest differences between the Saxon and Norman knights and men-at-arms seem to be carefully observed, even to the national fashions of cutting the hair; and we are therefore justified in assuming that there were no material differences in the military equipment, since we find none indicated, except that the Normans used the long bow and the Saxons did not. We have abstained from taking any illustrations from the tapestry, because the whole series has been several times engraved, and is well known, or, at least, is easily accessible, to those who are interested in the subject. We have preferred to take an illustration from a MS. in the British Museum, marked Harleian 2,895, from folio 82 v. The warrior, who is no less a person than Goliath of Gath, has a hooded hauberk, with sleeves down to the elbow, over a green tunic. The legs are tinted blue in the drawing, but seem to be unarmed, except for the green boots, which reach half way to the knee. He wears an iron helmet with a nasal, and the hood appears to be fastened to the nasal, so as to protect the lower part of the face. The large shield is red, with a yellow border, and is hung from the neck by a chain. The belt round his waist is red. The well-armed giant leans upon his spear, looking down contemptuously on David, whom it has not been thought necessary to include in our copy of the picture. The group forms a very

appropriate filling-in of the great initial letter B of the Psalm *Benedictu*
Dns. Ds. Ms. qui docet manus meas ad prælium et digitos meos ad bellu
(Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to war and m
fingers to fight). In the same MS., at folio 70, ther
are two men armed with helmet and sword, and
folio 81 v. a group of armed men on horseback,
sword, shield, and spurs.

It may be convenient to some of our readers, if w
indicate here where a few other examples of Saxo
military costume may be found which we have note
down, but have not had occasion to refer to in th
above remarks.

In the MS. of Prudentius (Cleopatra C. VIII.), fro
which we have taken our first three woodcuts, a
many other pictures well worth study. On the sam
page (folio 1 v.) as that which contains our wood-c
p. 312, there is another very similar group on the low
part of the page; on folio 2 is still another group,
which some of the faces are most charming in drawi
and expression. At folio 15 v. there is a spiriti
combat of two footmen, armed with sword and rou
shield, and clad in short leather coats of fen
vandyked at the edges. At folio 24 v. is an a
gorical female figure in a short leather tunic, with shading on it wh
seems to indicate that the hair of the leather has been left on, and is wo
outside, which we know from other sources was one of the fashions of
time. In the MS. of Ælfric's Paraphrase (Claud. B. iv.) already quot
there are, besides the battle scene at folio 24 v., in which occurs
king and his armour-bearer, at folio 25 two long lines of Saxon horsem
marching across the page, behind Abraham, who wears a crested Phryg
helm. On the reverse of folio 25 there is another group, and also on fo
62 and 64. On folio 52 is another troop, of Esau's horsemen, march
across the page in ranks of four abreast, all bareheaded and armed w
spears. At folio 96 v. is another example of a warrior, with a shi

earer. The pictures in the latter part of this MS. are not nearly so early delineated as in the former part, owing to their having been tinted ith colour; the colour, however, enables us still more completely to fill to the mind's eye the distinct forms which we have gathered from the rmer part of the book. The large troops of soldiers are valuable, as owing us the style of equipment which was common in the Saxon ilitia.

There is another MS. of Prudentius in the British Museum of about the me date, and of the same school of art, though not quite so finely ecuted, which is well worth the study of the artist in search of authori-es for Saxon military (and other) costume, and full of interest for the nateur of art and archæology. Its press mark is Cottonian, Titus D. XVI. n the reverse of folio 2 is a group of three armed horsemen, representing e confederate kings of Canaan carrying off Lot, while Abraham, at the ead of another group of armed men, is pursuing them. On folio 3 is nother group of armed horsemen. After these Scripture histories come me allegorical subjects, conceived and drawn with great spirit. At lio 6 v., "*Pudicitia pugnat contra Libidinem*," Pudicitia being a oman armed with hauberk, helmet, spear, and shield. On the opposite ge Pudicitia—in a very spirited attitude—is driving her spear through e throat of Libido. On folio 26 v., "*Discordia vulnerat occulte ncordium.*" Concord is represented as a woman armed with a loose-eeved hauberk, helmet, and sword. Discord is lifting up the skirt of ncord's hauberk, and thrusting a sword into her side. In the Harleian S. 2,803, is a Vulgate Bible, of date about 1170 A.D.; there are no pictures, ly the initial letters of the various books are illuminated. But while e illuminator was engaged upon the initial of the Second Book of Kings, eye seems to have been caught by the story of Saul's death in the last apter of the First Book, which happens to come close by in the parallel umn of the great folio page :—*Arripuit itaqu, gladium et erruit sup. eum* herefore Saul took a sword, and fell upon it); and he has sketched in scene with pen-and-ink on the margin of the page, thus affording us other authority for the armour of a Saxon king when actually engaged in tle. He wears a hauberk, with an ornamented border, has his crown

on his head, and spurs on his heels ; has placed his sword-hilt on t ground, and fallen upon it.

In the Additional MS. 11,695, on folio 102 v., are four armed m on horseback, habited in hauberks without hoods. Two of them have t sleeves extending to the wrist, two have loose sleeves to the elbow on showing that the two fashions were worn contemporaneously. They have mail hose ; one of them is armed with a bow, the rest with t sword. There are four men in similar armour on folio 136 v. of t same MS. Also at folio 143, armed with spear, sword, and round or mented shield. At folio 222 v. are soldiers manning a gate-tower.

When the soldiers so very generally wore the ordinary citizen costum it becomes necessary, in order to give a complete picture of the milit costume, to say a few words on the dress which the soldier wore in co mon with the citizen. The tunic and mantle composed the natio costume of the Saxons. The tunic reached about to the knee : sor times it was slit up a little way at the sides, and it often had a rich or mented border round the hem, extending round the side slits, making garment almost exactly resemble the ecclesiastical tunic or Dalmatic. had also very generally a narrower ornamental border round the open for the neck. The tunic was sometimes girded round the waist.

The Saxons were famous for their skill in embroidery, and also metal-work ; and there are sufficient proofs that the tunic was often ric embroidered. There are indications of it in the wood-cut on p. 316 ; in the relics of costume found in the Saxon graves are often buckle elegant workmanship, which fastened the belt with which the tunic was

The mantle was in the form of a short cloak, and was usually fastene the shoulder, as in the wood-cuts on pp. 312, 313, 314, so as to leave the r arm unencumbered by its folds. The brooch with which this cloak fastened formed a very conspicuous item of costume. They were of l size, some of them of bronze gilt, others of gold, beautifully ornamen with enamels ; and there is this interesting fact about them, they seem corroborate the old story, that the Saxon invaders were of three diffe tribes—the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons—who subdued and inhabited diffe portions of Britain. For in Kent and the Isle of Wight, the settlement

the Jutes, brooches are found of circular form, often of gold and enamelled. In the counties of Yorkshire, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Northampton, and in the eastern counties, a large gilt bronze brooch of peculiar form is very commonly found, and seems to denote a peculiar fashion of the Angles, who inhabited East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Still another variety of fashion, shaped like a saucer, has been discovered in the counties of Gloucester, Oxford, and Buckingham, on the border between the Mercians and West Saxons. It is curious to find these peculiar fashions thus confirming the ancient and obscure tradition about the original Saxon settlements. The artist will bear in mind that the Saxons seem generally to have settled in the open country, not in the towns, and to have built timber halls and cottages after their own custom, and to have avoided the sites of the Romano-British villas, whose blackened ruins must have thickly dotted at least the southern and south-eastern parts of the island. They appear to have built no fortresses, if we except a few erected at a late period, to check the incursions of the Danes. But they had the old Roman towns left, in many cases with their walls and gates tolerably entire. In the Saxon MS. Psalter, Harleian 603, are several illuminations in which walled towns and gates are represented. But we do not gather that they were very skilful either in the attack or defence of fortified places. Indeed, their weapons and armour were of a very primitive kind, and their warfare seems to have been conducted after a very unscientific fashion. Little chance had their rude Saxon hardihood against the military genius of William the Norman and the disciplined valour of his bands of mercenaries.

CHAPTER II.

ARMS AND ARMOUR, FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST DOWNWARDS.

THE Conquest and subsequent confiscations put the land of Eng land so entirely into the hands of William the Conqueror, tha he was able to introduce the feudal system into England in more simple and symmetrical shape than that in which it obtained in an other country of Europe. The system was a very intelligible one. Th king was supposed to be the lord of all the land of the kingdom. He retained large estates in his own hands, and from these estates chiefly derived his personal followers and his royal revenues. The rest of th land he let in large lordships to his principal nobles, on condition tha they should maintain for the defence of the kingdom a certain number o men armed after a stipulated fashion, and should besides aid him on cer tain occasions with money payments, with which we have at present n concern.

These chief tenants of the crown followed the example of the sovereig Each retained a portion of the land in his own hands, and sub-let th rest in estates of larger or smaller size, on condition that each noble knight who held of him should supply a proportion of the armed force was required to furnish to the royal standard, and contribute a propo tion of the money payments for which he was liable to be called upo Each knight let the farms on his manor to his copyholders, on conditio that they provided themselves with the requisite arms, and assembl under his banner when called upon for military suit and service; an they rendered certain personal services, and made certain payments money or in kind besides, in lieu of rent. Each manor, therefore, fu

nished its troop of soldiers; the small farmers, perhaps, and the knight's personal retainers fighting on foot, clad in leather jerkins, and armed with pike or bow; two or three of his greater copyholders in skull caps and coats of fence; his younger brothers or grown-up sons acting as men-at-arms and esquires, on horseback, in armour almost or quite as complete as his own; while the knight himself, on his war horse, armed from top to toe—*cap-à-pied*—with shield on arm and lance in hand, with its knight's pennon fluttering from the point, was the captain of the little troop. The troops thus furnished by his several manors made up the force which the feudal lord was bound to furnish the king, and the united divisions made up the army of the kingdom.

Besides this feudal army bound to render suit and service at the call of its sovereign, the laws of the kingdom also required all men of fit age—between sixteen and sixty—to keep themselves furnished with arms, and made them liable to be called out *en masse* in great emergencies. This was the *Posse Comitatus*, the force of the county, and was under the command of the sheriff. We learn some particulars on the subject from an assize of arms of Henry II., made in 1181, which required all his subjects being free men to be ready in defence of the realm. Whosoever holds one knight's fee, shall have a hauberk, helmet, shield and lance, and every knight as many such equipments as he has knight's fees in his domain. Every free layman having ten marks in chattels shall have a habergeon, iron cap, and lance. All burgesses and the whole community of freemen shall have each a coat of fence (padded and quilted, a *wambeys*), iron cap, and lance. Any one having more arms than those required by the statute, was to sell or otherwise dispose of them, so that they might be utilised for the king's service, and no one was to carry arms out of the kingdom.

There were two great points of difference between the feudal system as introduced into England and as established on the Continent. William made all landowners owe fealty to himself, and not only the tenants *in capite*. And next, though he gave his chief nobles immense possessions, these possessions were scattered about in different parts of the kingdom. The great provinces which had once been separate kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy, still retained, down to the time of the Confessor, much of

their old political feeling. Kentish men, for example, looked on on another as brothers, but Essex men, or East Anglians, or Mercians, o Northumbrians, were foreigners to them. If the Conqueror had committe the blunder of giving his great nobles all their possessions together, Rufu might have found the earls of Mercia or Northumbria semi-independen as the kings of France found their great vassals of Burgundy, and Cham pagne, and Normandy, and Bretagne. But, by the actual arrangemen every county was divided; one powerful noble had a lordship here, an another had half-a-dozen manors there, and some religious community ha one or two manors between. The result was, that though a combinatio of great barons was powerful enough to coerce John or Henry III., or single baron like Warwick was powerful enough, when the nobility wer divided into two factions, to turn the scale to one side or the other, n one was ever able to set the power of the crown at defiance, or to establis a semi-independence; the crown was always powerful enough to enforce sufficiently arbitrary authority over them all. The consequence was th tnere was little of the clannish spirit among Englishmen. They rallie round their feudal superior, but the sentiment of loyalty was warmly ar directly towards the crown.

We must not, however, pursue the general subject further than we ha done, in order to obtain some apprehension of the position in the boo politic occupied by the class of persons with whom we are specially co cerned. Of their social position we may perhaps briefly arrive at a corre estimate, if we call to mind that nearly all our rural parishes are divid into several manors, which date from the Middle Ages, some more, son less remotely; for as population increased and land increased in value, the was a tendency to the subdivision of old manors and the creation of ne ones out of them. Each of these manors, in the times to which our searches are directed, maintained a family of gentle birth and knight rank. The head of the family was usually a knight, and his sons we eligible for, and some of them aspirants to, the same rank in chivalry. that the great body of the knightly order consisted of the country gent men—the country *squires* we call them now, then they were the count *knights*—whose wealth and social importance gave them a claim to t

ank; and to these we must add such of their younger brothers and grown-ıp sons as had ambitiously sought for and happily achieved the chivalric listinction by deeds of arms. The rest of the brothers and sons who had ıot entered the service of the Church as priest or canon, monk or friar, ır into trade, continued in the lower chivalric and social rank of squires.

When we come to look for authorities for the costume and manners of he knights of the Middle Ages, we find a great scarcity of them for the eriod between the Norman Conquest and the beginning of the Edwardian ra. The literary authorities are not many; there are as yet few of the iluminated MSS., from which we derive such abundant material in the ourteenth and fifteenth centuries;* the sepulchral monuments are not umerous; the valuable series of monumental brasses has not begun; the Bayeux tapestry, which affords abundant material for the special time to vhich it relates, we have abstained from drawing upon; and there are few ubjects in any other class of pictorial art to help us out.

The figure of Goliath, which we gave in our last chapter (p. 322), will serve ery well for a general representation of a knight of the twelfth century. n truth, from the Norman Conquest down to the introduction of plate rmour at the close of the thirteenth century, there was wonderfully little lteration in the knightly armour and costume. It would seem that the ody armour consisted of garments of the ordinary fashion, either quilted ı their substance to deaden the force of a blow, or covered with *mailles* ings) on the exterior, to resist the edge of sword or point of lance. The ıgenuity of the armourer showed itself in various ways of quilting, and arious methods of applying the external defence of metal. Of the quilted rmours we know very little. In the illuminations is often seen armour overed over with lines arranged in a lozenge pattern, which perhaps repre-ents garments stuffed and sewn in this commonest of all patterns of quilting; ut it has been suggested that it may represent lozenged-shaped scales, of orn or metal, fastened upon the face of the garments. In the wood-cut

* The Harl. MS. 603, of the close of the eleventh century, contains a number of ilitary subjects rudely drawn, but conveying suggestions which the artist will be able to terpret and profit by. In the Add. MS. 28,107, of date A.D. 1096, at f. 25 v., is a oliath; and at f. 1,630 v., a group of soldiers.

here given from the MS. Caligula A. vii., we have one of the clearest and best extant illustrations of this quilted armour.

In the mail armour there seem to have been different ways of applying the *mailles*. Sometimes it is represented as if the rings were sewn by one edge only, and at such a distance that each overlapped the other in the same row, but the rows do not overlap one another. Sometimes they look as if each row of rings had been sewn upon a strip of linen or leather and these the strips applied to the garment. Sometimes the rings were interlinked, as in common steel purse, so that the garment was entirely of steel rings. Very frequently we find a surcoat or chausses represented as if rings or little discs of metal were sewn flat all over the garment. It is possible that this is only an artistic way of indicating that the garment was covered with rings, after one of the methods above described; but it is also possible that a light armour was composed of rings thus spared sewn upon a linen or leather garment. It is possible also that little round plates of metal or horn were used in this way for defence, for we have next to mention that *scale* armour is sometimes, though rarely found; it consisted of small scales, usually rectangular, and probably usually of horn though sometimes of metal, attached to a linen or leather garment.

Quilted Armour.

The shield and helmet varied somewhat in shape at various times. The shield in the Bayeux tapestry was kite-shaped, concave, and tolerably large, like that of Goliath on p. 322. The tendency of its fashion was continually to grow shorter in proportion to its width, and flatter. The round Saxon target continued in use throughout the Middle Ages, more especially for foot-soldiers.

The helmet, at the beginning of the period, was like the old Saxon onical helmet, with a nasal; and this continued in occasional use far into ne fourteenth century. About the end of the twelfth century, the cylin-rical helmet of iron enclosing the whole head, with horizontal slits for ision, came into fashion. Richard I. is represented in one on his second reat seal. A still later fashion is seen in the next woodcut, p. 334. Villiam Longespée, A.D. 1227, has a flat-topped helmet.

The only two inventions of the time seem to be, first, the surcoat, which egan to be worn over the hauberk about the end of the twelfth century. he seal of King John is the first of the series of great seals in which we ee it introduced. It seems to have been of linen or silk.

The other great invention of this period was that of armorial bearings, roperly so called. Devices painted upon the shield were common in assical times. They are found ordinarily on the shields in the Bayeux pestry, and were habitually used by the Norman knights. In the Bayeux pestry they seem to be fanciful or merely decorative; later they were sym-olical or significant. But it was only towards the close of the twelfth ntury that each knight assumed a fixed device, which was exclusively propriated to him, by which he was known, and which became hereditary his family.

The offensive weapons used by the knights were most commonly the ord and spear. The axe and mace are found, but rarely. The artillery nsisted of the crossbow, which was the most formidable missile in use, d the long bow, which, however, was not yet the great arm of the nglish yeomanry which it became at a later period; but these were hardly e weapons of knights and gentlemen, though men-at-arms were frequently med with the crossbow, and archers were occasionally mounted. The ng was sometimes used, as were other very rude weapons, by the half-med crowd who were often included in the ranks of mediæval armies.

We have said that there is a great scarcity of pictorial representations the military costume of the thirteenth century, and of the few which ist the majority are so vague in their definition of details, that they add thing to our knowledge of costume, and have so little of dramatic aracter, as to throw no light on manners and customs. Among the best

are some knightly figures in the Harleian Roll, folio 6, which contain life of St. Guthlac of about the end of the twelfth century. The figures armed in short-sleeved and hooded hauberk; flat-topped iron helmet, sc with, some without, the nasal; heater-shaped shield and spear; the l undefended, except by boots like those of the Goliath on p. 322.

The Harleian MS. 4,751, a MS. of the beginning of the thirteenth c tury, shows at folio 8 a group of soldiers attacking a fortification; it c tains hints enough to make one earnestly desire that the subject been more fully and artistically worked out. The fortification is rep sented by a timber projection carried on brackets from the face of wall. Its garrison is represented by a single knight, whose demi-fig only is seen; he is represented in a short-sleeved hauberk, with a surc over it having a cross on the breast. He wears a flat-topped cylindr helmet, and is armed with a crossbow. The assailants would seem to l rabble of half-armed men; one is bareheaded, and armed only wit sling; others have round hats, whether of felt or iron does not appe one is armed in a hooded hauberk and carries an axe, and a cylindr helmet also appears amidst the crowd.

In the Harleian MS. 5,102, of the beginning of the thirteenth cent at folio 32, there is a representation of the martyrdom of St. Thoma Canterbury, which gives us the effigies of the three murderers in knig costume. They all wear long-sleeved hauberks, which have the peculi of being slightly slit up the sides, and the tunic flows from beneath th Fitzurse (known by the bear on his shield) has leg defences faste behind, like those in our next woodcut, p. 334, and a circular iron hel One of the others wears a flat-topped helmet, and the third has the h of mail fastened on the cheek, like that in the same woodcut. drawing is inartistic, and the picture of little value for our present purp

The Harleian MS. 3,244 contains several MSS. bound together. second of these works is a Penitential, which has a knightly figure horseback for its frontispiece. It has an allegorical meaning, and is ra curious. The inscription over the figure is *Milicia est vita hominis s terram.* (The life of man upon the earth is a warfare.) The knig figure represents the Christian man in the spiritual panoply of this warf

d the various items of armour and arms have inscriptions affixed to tell what they are. Thus over the helmet is *Spes futuri gaudii* (For a lmet the hope of salvation); his sword is inscribed, *Verbum dï;* his ear, *Persevancia;* its pennon, *Regni cælesti desiderium*, &c. &c. The ield is charged with the well-known triangular device, with the enuncia-on of the doctrine of the Trinity, *Pater est Deus*, &c., *Pater non est lius*, &c. The knight is clad in hauberk, with a rather long flowing sur-at; a helmet, in general shape like that in the next woodcut, but not ornamental; he has chausses of mail; shield, sword, and spear with nnon, and prick spurs; but there is not sufficient definiteness in the tails, or character in the drawing, to make it worth while to reproduce

But there is one MS. picture which fully atones for the absence of hers by its very great merit. It occurs in a small quarto of the last arter of the thirteenth century, which contains the Psalter and Eccle-stical Hymns. Towards the end of the book are several remarkably e full-page drawings, done in outline with a pen, and partially tinted th colour; large, distinct, and done with great spirit and artistic skill. ne first on the verso of folio 218 is a king; on the opposite page is the ight, who is here given on a reduced scale; on the opposite side of the ge is St. Christopher, and on the next page an archbishop.

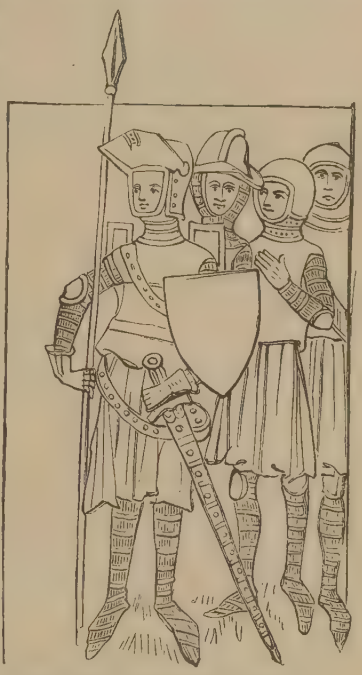
The figure of the knight before us shows very clearly the various details a suit of thirteenth-century armour. In the hauberk will be noticed e mode in which the hood is fastened at the side of the head, and the y in which the sleeves are continued into gauntlets, whose palms are t free from rings, so as to give a firmer grasp. The thighs, it will be en, are protected by haut-de-chausses, which are mailed only in the posed parts, and not on the seat. The legs have chausses of a different nd of armour. In the MS. drawings we often find various parts of the nour thus represented in different ways, and, as we have already said, we e sometimes tempted to think the unskilful artist has only used different odes of representing the same kind of mail. But here the drawing is so reful, and skilful, and self-evidently accurate, that we cannot doubt at the defence of the legs is really of a different kind of armour from the il of the hauberk and haut-de-chausses. The surcoat is of graceful fashion,

and embroidered with crosses, which appear also on the pennon, and on of them is used as an ornamental genouillière on the shoulder. The helme is elaborately and very elegantly ornamented. The attitude of the figur is spirited and dignified, and the drawing unusually good. Altogether w do not know a finer representation of a knight of this century.

Knight of the latter part of the Thirteenth Century.

A few, but very valuable, authorities are to be found in the sculptur monumental effigies of this period. The best of them will be found Stothard's "Monumental Effigies," and his work not only brings the examples together, and makes them easily accessible to the student, but has this great advantage, that Stothard well understood his subject, a gives every detail with the most minute accuracy, and also elucidat obscure points of detail. Those in the Temple Church, that of Willia

ongespée in Salisbury Cathedral, and that of Aymer de Valence in Westinster Abbey, are the most important of the series. Perhaps, after all, e only important light they add to that already obtained from the MSS. they help us to understand the fabrication of the mail-armour, by giving in fac-simile relief. There are also a few foreign MSS., easily accessible, the library of the British Museum, which the artist student will do well consult; but he must remember that me of the peculiarities of costume nich he will find there are foreign shions, and are not to be introduced English subjects. For example, the S. Cotton, Nero, c. iv., is a French MS. about 1125 A.D., which contains some ther good drawings of military subjects. ne Additional MS. 14,789, of German ecution, written in 1128 A.D., contains litary subjects; among them is a figure Goliath, in which the Philistine has a uberk of chain mail, and chausses of zerant work, like the knight in the last oodcut. The Royal MS. 20 D. i., is a rench MS., very full of valuable military awings, executed probably at the close the thirteenth century, belonging, owever, in the style of its Art and stume, rather to the early part of the xt period than to the under con- leration. The MS. Addit. 17,687, ntains fine and valuable German drawings, full of military authorities, of out the same period as the French MS. last mentioned.



Knight and Men-at-Arms of the end of the Thirteenth Century.

The accompanying wood-cut represents various peculiarities of the mour in use towards the close of the thirteenth century. It is taken om the Sloane MS. 346, which is a metrical Bible. In the original awing a female figure is kneeling before the warrior, and there is an

inscription over the picture, *Abygail placet iram regis David* (Abiga appeases the anger of King David). So that this group of a thirteent century knight and his men-at-arms is intended by the mediæval artist represent David and his followers on the march to revenge the churlishne of Nabal. The reader will notice the round plates at the elbows an knees, which are the first *visible* introduction of plate armour—brea plates, worn under the hauberk, had been occasionally used from Sax times. He will observe, too, the leather gauntlets which David wea and the curious defences for the shoulders called *ailettes:* also that t shield is hung round the neck by its strap (*guige*), and the sword-b round the hips, while the surcoat is girded round the waist by a silk

Knight of the end of the Thirteenth Century.

sword. The group is also valuable for giving us at a glance three differ fashions of helmet. David has a conical bascinet, with a movable vis The man immediately behind him wears an iron hat, with a wide rim a a raised crest, which is not at all unusual at this period. The other t men wear the globular helmet, the most common head-defence of the tir

The next cut is a spirited little sketch of a mounted knight, from same MS. The horse, it may be admitted, is very like those wh children draw nowadays, but it has more life in it than most of the dr ings of that day; and the way in which the knight sits his horse is mu

ıore artistic. The picture shows the equipment of the knight very clearly, ıd it is specially valuable as an early example of horse trappings, and as ı authority for the shape of the saddle, with its high pommel and croupe. he inscription over the picture is, *Tharbis defendit urbem Sabea ab impug-ıntı Moysi;* and over the head of this cavalier is his name *Moyses*—oses, as a knight of the end of the thirteenth century!

CHAPTER III.

ARMOUR OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

IN arriving at the fourteenth century, we have reached the ve heart of our subject. For this century was the period of t great national wars with France and Scotland ; it was the tir when the mercenaries raised in the Italian wars first learnt, and then taug the world, the trade of soldier and trained their captains in the art of wa it was the period when the romantic exploits and picturesque trappings chivalry were in their greatest vogue ; the period when Gothic art was its highest point of excellence. It was a period, too, of which we ha ample knowledge from public records and serious histories, from roma writers in poetry and prose, from Chaucer and Froissart, from MS. il minations and monumental effigies. Our difficulty amid such a profusi of material is to select that which will be most serviceable to our spec purpose.

Let us begin with some detailed account of the different kinds a fashions of armour and equipment. In the preceding period, it has be seen, the most approved knightly armour was of mail. The characteri feature of the armour of the fourteenth century is the intermixture of n and plate. We see it first in small supplementary defences of plate in duced to protect the elbow and knee-joints. Probably it was found t the rather heavy and unpliable sleeve and hose of mail pressed inc veniently upon these joints ; therefore the armourer adopted the exped which proved to be the "thin end of the wedge" which gradually brou plate armour into fashion. He cut the mail hose in two ; the lower p which was then like a modern stocking, protected the leg, and the u

t protected the thigh, each being independently fastened below and ve the knee, leaving the knee unprotected. Then he hollowed a piece plate iron so as to form a cap for the knee, called technically a *uillière*, within which the joint could work freely without chafing or ssure; perhaps it was padded or stuffed so as to deaden the effect of a w; and it was fashioned so as effectually to cover all the part left un- ended by the mail. The sleeve of the hauberk was cut in the same

Men-at-Arms, Fourteenth Century.

, and the elbow was defended by a cap of plate-iron called a *coudière.* ly examples of these two pieces of plate armour will be seen in the r illustrations of our last chapter, for they were introduced a little re the end of the thirteenth century. The two pieces of plate were oduced simultaneously, and they appear together in the woodcut of id and his men in our last chapter; but we often find the genouillière l while the arm is still defended only by the sleeve of the hauberk, as

in the first woodcut in the present chapter, and again in the cut on p. 3
It is easy to see that the pressure of the chausses of mail upon the knee
riding would be constant and considerable, and a much more seri
inconvenience than the pressure upon the elbow in the usual attitude
the arm.

Next, round plates of metal, called *placates* or *roundels*, were applied
shield the armpits from a thrust; and sometimes they were used also at
elbow to protect the inner side of the joint where, for the convenience
motion, it was destitute of armour. An example of a roundel at
shoulder will be seen in one of the men-at-arms in the woodcut on p. 3
Another curious fashion which very generally prevailed at this time—that
at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century—
the *ailette*. It was a thin, oblong plate of metal, which was attached beh
the shoulder. It would to some extent deaden the force of a blow direc
at the neck, but it would afford so inartificial and ineffective a defen
that it is difficult to believe it was intended for anything more than
ornament. It is worn by the foremost knight in the cut on p. 335.

Perhaps the next great improvement was to protect the foot by a sh
made of plates of iron overlapping, like the shell of a lobster, the s
being still of leather. Then plates of iron, made to fit the limb, w
applied to the shin and the upper part of the forearm, and sometime
small plate is applied to the upper part of the arm in the place n
exposed to a blow. Then the shin and forearm defences were enlarged
as to enclose the limb completely, opening at the side with a hinge,
closing with straps or rivets. Then the thigh and the upper arm w
similarly enclosed in plate.

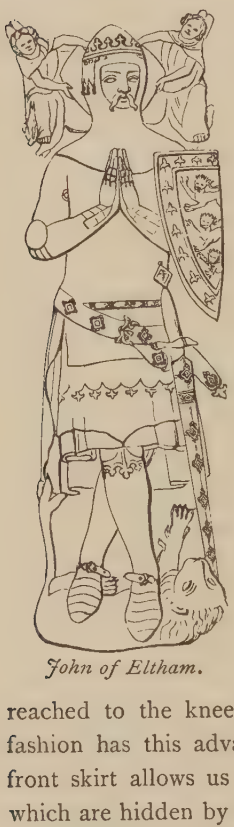
It is a little difficult to trace exactly the changes which took place in
body defences, because all through this period it was the fashion to wea
surcoat of some kind, which usually conceals all that was worn beneath
It is however probable that at an early period of the introduction of p
a breastplate was introduced, which was worn over the hauberk,
perhaps fastened to it. Then, it would seem, a back plate was added a
worn over the hauberk. Next, the breast and back plate were made
enclose the whole of the upper part of the body, while only a skirt of

mained; *i.e.* a garment of the same shape as the hauberk was worn, unotected with mail, where the breast and back plate would come upon it, t still having its skirt covered with rings. In an illumination in the MS., a picture of a knight putting off his jupon, in which the "pair of plates," Chaucer calls them in a quotation hereafter given, is seen, tinted blue eel colour), with a skirt of mail. At this time the helmet had a fringe mail, called the *camail*, attached to its lower margin, which fell over the dy armour, and defended the neck. It is clearly seen in the hindermost ight of the group in the woodcut on p. 339, and in the effigy of John of tham, on p. 342.

It is not difficult to see the superiority of defence which plate afforded er mail. The edge of sword or axe would bite upon the mail; if the gs were unbroken, still the blow would be likely to bruise; and in nances it is common enough to hear of huge cantles of mail being hewn by their blows, and the doughty champions being spent with loss of od. But many a blow would glance off quite harmless from the curved l polished, and well-tempered surface of plate; so that it would probably uire not only a more dexterous blow to make the edge of the weapon e at all on the plate, but also a harder blow to cut into it so as to wound. "Prince Arthur" we read of Sir Tristram and Sir Governale—"they ided their horses, and put their shields before them, and they strake ether with bright swords like men that were of might, and either nded other wondrous sore, so that the blood ran upon the grass, and heir harness they had hewed off many pieces." And again, in a com- between Sir Tristram and Sir Elias, after a course in which "either te other so hard that both horses and knights went to the earth," "they n lightly rose up and dressed their shields on their shoulders, with ed swords in their hands, and they dashed together like as there had n a flaming fire about them. Thus they traced and traversed, and ed on helms and hauberks, and cut away many pieces and cantles of r shields, and either wounded other passingly sore, so that the hot d fell fresh upon the earth."

We have said that a surcoat of some kind was worn throughout this od, but it differed in shape at different times, and had different names

applied to it. In the early part of the time of which we are now spe
ing, *i.e.* when the innovation of plate armour was beginning, the lo
and flowing surcoat of the thirteenth century was still used, and is v
clearly seen in the nearest of the group of knights in woodcut on p. 339.
was usually of linen or silk, sleeveless, reached halfway between the k
and ankle, was left unstiffened to fall in loose fo
except that it was girt by a silk cord round
waist, and its skirts flutter behind as the we
gallops on through the air. The change of t
was in the direction of shortening the skirts of
surcoat, and making it scantier about the bo
and stiffening it so as to make it fit the person w
out folds; at last it was tightly fitted to the br
and back plate, and showed their outline; ar
was not uncommonly covered with embroid
often of the armorial bearings of the wearer.
former garment is properly called a surcoat,
the latter a jupon; the one is characteristic of
greater part of the thirteenth century, the latt
the greater part of the fourteenth. But the fas
did not change suddenly from the one to the ot
there was a transitional phase called the *cy*
which may be briefly described. The cyclas op
up the sides instead of in front, and it had
curious peculiarity, that the front skirt wa
much shorter than the hind skirt—behin
reached to the knees, but in front not very much below the hips.
fashion has this advantage for antiquarians, that the shortness of
front skirt allows us to see a whole series of military garments ben
which are hidden by the long surcoat and even by the shorter jupon
suit of armour of this period is represented in the Roman d'Alexa
(Bodleian Library), at folio 143 v., and elsewhere in the MS. Th
mainder of the few examples of the cyclas which remain, and w
so far as our observation extends, are all in sepulchral monuments,



John of Eltham.

etween the years 1325 and 1335, the shortening of the cyclas enables to see. We have chosen for our illustration the sepulchral effigy Westminster Abbey of John of Eltham, the second son of King dward II., who died in 1334. Here we see first and lowest the cqueton; then the hauberk of chain mail, slightly pointed in front, hich was one of the fashions of the time, as we see it also in the monuental brasses of Sir John de Creke, at Westley-Waterless, Cambridgeire, and of Sir J. D'Aubernoun, the younger, at Stoke D'Abernon, rrey; over the hauberk we see the ornamented gambeson; and over all e cyclas. It is a question whether knights generally wore this whole ries of defences, but the monumental effigies are usually so accurate in eir representations of actual costume, that we must conclude that at ast on occasions of state solemnity they were all worn. In the illustran it will be seen that the cyclas is confined, not by a silk cord, but by a rrow belt, while the sword-belt of the thirteenth century is still worn in dition. The jupon is seen in the two knights tilting, in the woodcut on p. 8. In the knight on the left will be seen how it fits tightly, and takes the obular shape of the breastplate. It will be noticed that on this knight e skirt of the jupon is scalloped, on the other it is plain. The jupon s not girded with a silk cord or a narrow belt; it was made to fit tight thout any such fastening. The sword-belt worn with it differs in two portant respects from that worn previously. It does not fall diagonally oss the person, but horizontally over the hips; and it is not merely a ther belt ornamented, but the leather foundation is completely conaled by plates of metal in high relief, chased, gilt, and filled with enamels, ming a gorgeous decoration. The general form will be seen in the odcut on p. 350, but its elaboration and splendour are better understood an examination of some of the sculptured effigies, in which the forms the metal plates are preserved in facsimile, with traces of their gilding l colour still remaining.

It would be easy, from the series of sculptured effigies in relief and numental brasses, to give a complete chronological view of these various nges which were continually progressing throughout the fourteenth cen-y. But this has already been done in the very accessible works by

Stothard, the Messrs. Waller, Mr. Boutell, and Mr. Haines, especia devoted to monumental effigies and brasses. It will be more in acco ance with the plan we have laid down for ourselves, if we take from t less known illuminations of MSS. some subjects which will perhaps less clear and fine in detail, but will have more life and character than t formal monumental effigies.

We must, however, pause to mention some other kinds of armo which were sometimes used in place of armour of steel. And first may mention leather. Leather was always more or less used as cheap kind of defence, from the Saxon leather tunic with the hair on it, down to the buff jerkin of the time of the Commonwealth, a even to the thick leather gauntlets and jack boots of the present I Guardsman. But at the time of which we are speaking pieces of arm of the same shape as those we have been describing were sometimes ma for the sake of lightness, of *cuir bouilli* instead of metal. Cuir bouilli w as its name implies, leather which was treated with hot water, in such way as to make it assume a required shape; and often it was also pressed, while soft, with ornamental devices. It is easy to see that in t way armour might be made possessing great comparative lightness, and a certain degree of strength, and capable, by stamping, colouring, a gilding, of a high degree of ornamentation. It was a kind of arm very suitable for occasions of mere ceremonial, and it was adopted actual combat for parts of the body less exposed to injury; for instance seems to be especially used for the defence of the lower half of the le We shall find presently, in the description of Chaucer's Sire Thopas, knight adventurous, that "his jambeux were of cuirbouly." In exter form and appearance it would be so exactly like metal armour that it r be represented in some of the ornamental effigies and MSS. drawin where it has the appearance of, and is usually assumed to be, m armour. Another form of armour, of which we often meet with examp in drawings and effigies, is one in which the piece of armour appears to studded, at more or less distant regular intervals, with small round pla There are two suggestions as to the kind of armour intended. One that the armour thus represented was a garment of cloth, silk, velvet

ther textile material, lined with plates of metal, which are fastened to the ırment with metal rivets, and that the heads of these rivets, gilt and orna-ıented, were allowed to be seen powdering the coloured face of the gar-ıcnt by way of ornament. Another suggestion is that the garment was ɔerely one of the padded and quilted armours which we shall have next ɔ describe, in which, as an additional precaution, metal studs were intro-ıced, much as an oak door is studded with iron bolts. An example of it ill be seen in the armour of the forearms of King Meliadus in the wood-ıt on p. 350. Chaucer seems to speak of this kind of defence, in his ɛscription of Lycurgus at the great tournament in the "Knight's Tale," ıder the name of coat armour:—

> "Instede of cote-armure on his harnais,
> With nayles yelwe and bryght as any gold,
> He had a bere's skin cole-blake for old."

Next we come to the rather large and important series of quilted ɛfences. We find the names of the *gambeson*, *hacqueton*, and *pourpoint*, and ɔmetimes the *jacke*. It is a little difficult to distinguish one from the ɔher in the descriptions; and in fact they appear to have greatly resem-ed one another, and the names seem often to have been used inter-ıangeably. The gambeson was a sleeved tunic of stout coarse linen, ıffed with flax and other common material, and sewn longitudinally. The ıcqueton was a similar garment, only made of buckram, and stuffed with ɔtton; stiff from its material, but not so thick and clumsy as the gam-ɛson. The pourpoint was very like the hacqueton, only that it was made of ıer material, faced with silk, and stitched in ornamental patterns. The ımbeson and hacqueton were worn under the armour, partly to relieve its ɛssure upon the body, partly to afford an additional defence. Sometimes ɛy were worn, especially by the common soldiers, without any other ɱour. The pourpoint was worn over the hauberk, but sometimes it was ɔrn alone, the hauberk being omitted for the sake of lightness. The ɔke, or jacque, was a tunic of stuffed leather, and was usually worn by ɛ common soldiers without other armour, but sometimes as light armour knights.

In the first wood-cut on the next page, from the Romance of King

Meliadus, we have a figure which appears to be habited in one of thes quilted armours, perhaps the hacqueton. There is another figure in th same group, in a similar dress, with this difference—in the first the skir seems to fall loose and light, in the second the skirt seems to be stuffe and quilted like the body of the garment. At folio 214 of the same Romanc is a squire, attendant upon a knight-errant, who is habited in a simila

Squire in Hacqueton.

Sir Robert Shurland.

hacqueton to that we have represented; the squires throughout the MS. a usually quite unarmed. In the monumental effigy of Sir Robert Shurlan who was made a knight-banneret in 1300, we seem to have a curio and probably unique effigy of a knight in the gameson. We give a woo cut of it, reduced from Stothard's engraving. The smaller figure of t man placed at the feet of the effigy is in the same costume, and affor us an additional example. Stothard conjectures that the garment in t

effigy of John of Eltham (1334, A.D.), whose vandyked border appears beneath his hauberk, is the buckram of the hacqueton left unstuffed, and ornamentally scalloped round the border. In the MS. of King Meliadus, at f. 21, and again on the other side of the leaf, is a knight, whose red jupon, slit up at the sides, is thrown open by his attitude, so that we see the skirt of mail beneath, which is silvered to represent metal; and beneath that is a scalloped border of an under habit, which is left white, and, if Stothard's conjecture be correct, is another example of the hacqueton under the hauberk. But the best representation which we have met with of the quilted armours is in the MS. of the Romance of the Rose (Harleian, 4,425), at folio 133, where, in a battle scene, one knight is conspicuous among the blue steel and red and green jupons of the other knights by a white body armour quilted in small squares, with which he wears a steel bascinet and ringed camail. He is engraved on p. 389.

And now to turn to a description of some of the MS. illuminations which illustrate this chapter. That on p. 339 is a charming little subject from a famous MS. (Royal 2 B. VII.) of the beginning of the Edwardian period, which will illustrate half-a-dozen objects besides the mere suit of knightly armour. First of all there is the suit of armour on the knight in the foreground, the hooded hauberk and chausses of mail and genouillières, the chapeau de fer, or war helm, and the surcoat, and the shield. But we get also a variety of helmets, different kinds of weapons, falchion and axe, as well as sword and spear, and the pennon attached to the spear; and, in addition, the complete horse trappings, with the ornamental crest which was used to set off the arching neck and tossing head. Moreover, we learn that this variety of arms and armour was to be found in a single troop of men-at-arms; and we see the irregular but picturesque effect which such a group presented to the eyes of the monkish illuminator as it pranced beneath the gateway into the outer court of the abbey, to seek the hospitality which the hospitaller would hasten to offer on behalf of the convent.

This mixture of armour and weapons is brought before us by Chaucer in his description of Palamon's party in the great tournament in the "Knight's Tale:"—

"And right so ferden they with Palamon,
With him ther wenten knights many one,
Som wol ben armed in an habergeon,
And in a brestplate and in a gipon;
And some wol have a pair of plates large;
And some wol have a Pruce shield or a targe;
And some wol ben armed on his legge's wele,
And have an axe, and some a mace of stele,
Ther was no newe guise that it was old,
Armed they weren, as I have you told,
Everich after his opinion."

The illustration here given and that on p. 350 are from a MS. which w cannot quote for the first time without calling special attention to it. It is MS. of one of the numerous romances of the King Arthur cycle, the Romanc

Jousting.

of the King Meliadus, who was one of the Companions of the Round Table The book is profusely illustrated with pictures which are invaluable to the student of military costume and chivalric customs. They are by differen hands, and not all of the same date, the earlier series being probably about 1350, the later perhaps as late as near the end of the century. In both these dates the MS. gives page after page of large-sized pictures drawn with great spirit, and illustrating every variety of incident which

could take place in single combat and in tournament, with many scenes of civil and domestic life besides. Especially there is page after page in which, along the lower portion of the pages, across the whole width of the book, there are pictures of tournaments. There is a gallery of spectators along the top, and in some of these—especially in those at folio 151 v. and 152, which are sketched in with pen and ink, and left uncoloured—there are more of character and artistic drawing than the artists of the time are usually believed to have possessed. Beneath this gallery is a confused mêlée of knights in the very thickest throng and most energetic action of a tournament. The wood-cut on p. 348 represents one out of many incidents of a single combat. It does not do justice to the drawing, and looks tame for want of the colouring of the original; but it will serve to show the armour and equipment of the time. The victor knight is habited in a hauberk of banded mail, with gauntlets of plate, and the legs are cased entirely in plate. The body armour is covered by a jupon; the tilting helmet has a knight's chapeau and drapery carrying the lion crest. The armour in the illumination is silvered to represent metal. The knight's jupon is red, and the trappings of his helmet red, with a golden lion; his shield bears gules, a lion rampant argent; the conquered knight's jupon is blue, his shield argent, two bandlets gules. We see here the way in which the shield was carried, and the long slender spear couched, in the charge.

The next wood-cut hardly does credit to the charming original. It represents the royal knight-errant himself sitting by a fountain, talking with his squire. The suit of armour is beautiful, and the face of the knight has much character, but very different from the modern conventional type of a mediæval knight-errant. His armour deserves particular examination. He wears a hauberk of banded mail; whether he wears a breastplate, or pair of plates, we are unable to see for the jupon, but we can see the hauberk which protects the throat above the jupon, and the skirt of it where the attitude of the wearer throws the skirt of the jupon open at the side. It will be seen that the sleeves of the hauberk are not continued, as in most examples, over the hands, or even down to the wrist; but the forearm is defended by studded armour, and the hands by gauntlets which are probably of plate. The leg defences are admirably exhibited; the hose of

banded mail, the knee cap, and shin pieces of plate, and the boots of over-lapping plates. The helmet also, with its royal crown and curious double crest, is worth notice. In the original drawing the whole suit of armour is brilliantly executed. The armour is all silvered to represent steel, the jupon is green, the military belt gold, the helmet silvered, with its drapery

A Knight-Errant.

blue powdered with gold fleurs-de-lis, and its crown, and the fleur-de-lis which terminate its crest, gold. The whole dress and armour of a knight of the latter half of the fourteenth century are described for us by Chaucer in a few stanzas of his Rime of Sire Thopas :—

"He didde* next his white lere
Of cloth of lake fine and clere
A breche and eke a sherte ;

* *Didde*—did on next his white skin.

And next his shert an haketon,
And over that an habergeon,
For percing of his herte.

And over that a fine hauberk,
Was all ye wrought of Jewes werk,
Full strong it was of plate;
And over that his coat armoure,
As white as is the lily floure,
In which he could debate.*

His jambeux were of cuirbouly,†
His swerde's sheth of ivory,
His helm of latoun‡ bright,
His sadel was of rewel bone,
His bridle as the sonne shone,
Or as the mone-light.§

His sheld was all of gold so red,
And therein was a bore's hed,
A charboncle beside;
And then he swore on ale and bred,
How that the geaunt shuld be ded,
Betide what so betide.

His spere was of fine cypres,
That bodeth warre and nothing pees,
The hed ful sharpe yground.
His stede was all of dapper gray,
It goth an amble in the way,
Ful softely in londe."

There is so much of character in his squire's face in the same picture, and at character so different from our conventional idea of a squire, that we are npted to give a sketch of it on p. 352, as he leans over the horse's back king to his master. This MS. affords us a whole gallery of squires attendant on their knights. At folio 66 v. is one carrying his master's spear and

* *Debate*—contend.
† *Cuirbouly*—stamped leather.
‡ *Latoun*—brass.
§ Compare Tennyson's description of Sir Lancelot, in the "Lady of Shalot."

"His gemmy bridle glittered free,
Like to some branch of stars we see;
Hung in the golden galaxy,
As he rode down to Camelot."

shield, who has a round cap with a long feather, like that in the woodc
In several other instances the squire rides bareheaded, but has his ho
hanging behind on his shoulders ready for a cold day or a shower of ra
In another place the knight is attended by two squires, one bearing
master's tilting helmet on his shoulder, the other carrying his spear a
shield. In all cases the squires are unarmed, and mature men of rat
heavy type, different from the gay and gallant youths whom we are apt
picture to ourselves as the squires of the days of chivalry attendant

The Knight-Errant's Squire.

noble knights adventurous. In other cases we see the squires looking
very phlegmatically while their masters are in the height of a sir
combat; perhaps a knight adventurous was not a hero to his squire.
again we see the squire starting into activity to catch his master's st
from which he has been unhorsed by an antagonist of greater strength
skill, or good fortune. We see him also in the lists at a tournament, ha
ing his master a new spear when he has splintered his own on an op
nent's shield; or helping him to his feet when he has been overthro
horse and man, under the hoofs of prancing horses.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAYS OF CHIVALRY.

WE have no inclination to deny that life is more safe and easy in these days than it was in the Middle Ages, but it certainly is less picturesque, and adventurous, and joyous. This country then esented the features of interest which those among us who have wealth d leisure now travel to foreign lands to find. There were vast tracts of imeval forest, and wild unenclosed moors and commons, and marshes d meres. The towns were surrounded by walls and towers, and the rrow streets of picturesque, gabled, timber houses were divided by wide aces of garden and grove, above which rose numerous steeples of urches full of artistic wealth. The villages consisted of a group of ttages scattered round a wide green, with a village cross in the middle, d a maypole beside it. And there were stately monasteries in the rich lleys; and castles crowned the hills; and moated manor-houses lay buried their woods; and hermitages stood by the dangerous fords. The high ads were little more than green lanes with a narrow beaten track in the ddle, poached into deep mud in winter; and the by-roads were bridle-ths winding from village to village; and the costumes of the people were cturesque in fashion, bright in colour, and characteristic. The gentleman anced along in silks and velvets, in plumed hat, and enamelled belt, and ld-hilted sword and spurs, with a troop of armed servants behind him; e abbot, in the robe of his order, with a couple of chaplains, all on bling palfreys; the friar paced along in serge frock and sandals; the nstrel, in gay coat, sang snatches of lays as he wandered along from hall castle, with a lad at his back carrying his harp or gittern; the traders

went from fair to fair, taking their goods on strings of pack horses; a pilgrim passed now and then, with staff and scrip and cloak; and, now and then, a knight-errant in full armour rode by on his war-horse, with a squire carrying his helm and spear. It was a wild land, and the people were rude, and the times lawless; but every mile furnished pictures for the artist, and every day offered the chance of adventures. The reader must picture to himself the aspect of the country and the manners of the times, before he can appreciate the spirit of knight-errantry, to which it is necessary that we should devote one of these chapters on the Knights of the Middle Ages.

The knight-errant was usually some young knight who had been lately dubbed, and who, full of courage and tired of the monotony of his father's manor-house, set out in search of adventures. We could envy him as, on some bright spring morning, he rode across the sounding drawbridge, followed by a squire in the person of some young forester as full of animal spirits and reckless courage as himself; or, perhaps, by some steady old warrior practised in the last French war, whom his father had chosen to take care of him. We sigh for our own lost youth as we think of him, with all the world before him—the mediæval world, with all its possibilities of wild adventure and romantic fortune; with caitiff knights to overthrow at spear's point, and distressed damsels to succour; and princesses to win as the prize of some great tournament; and rank and fame to gain by prowess and daring, under the eye of kings, in some great stricken field.

The old romances enable us to follow such an errant knight through his travels and adventures; and the illuminations leave hardly a point in the history unillustrated by their quaint but naïve and charming pictures. Tennyson has taken some of the episodes out of these old romances, and filled up the artless but suggestive stories with the rich detail and artistic finish which adapt them to our modern taste, and has made them the favourite subjects of modern poetry. But he has left a hundred others behind; stories as beautiful, with words and sentences here and there full of poetry, destined to supply material for future poems and new subjects for our painters.

It is our business to quote from these romances some of the scenes which will illustrate our subject, and to introduce some of the illuminations

hat will present them to the eye. In selecting the literary sketches, we hall use almost exclusively the translation which Sir Thomas Mallory nade, and Caxton printed, of the cycle of Prince Arthur romances, because : comprises a sufficient number for our purpose, and because the language, vhile perfectly intelligible and in the best and most vigorous English, has nough of antique style to give the charm which would be wanting if we

A Squire.

re to translate the older romances into modern phraseology. In the ne way we shall content ourselves with selecting pictorial illustrations iefly from MSS. of the fourteenth century, the date at which many of ese romances were brought into the form in which they have descended us.

A knight was known to be a knight-errant by his riding through the

peaceful country in full armour, with a single squire at his back, as surel
as a man is now recognised as a fox-hunter who is seen riding easily alon
the strip of green sward by the roadside in a pink coat and velvet ca
"Fair knight," says Sir Tristram, to one whom he had found sitting by
fountain, "ye seem for to be a knight-errant by your arms and yo
harness, therefore dress ye to just with one of us:" for this was of cour
inevitable when knights-errant met; the whole passage is worth tra
scribing:—"Sir Tristram and Sir Kav rode within the forest a mile
more. And at the last Sir Tristram saw before him a likely knight and
well-made man, all armed, sitting by a clear fountain, and a mighty hor
near unto him tied to a great oak, and a man [his squire] riding by hi
leading an horse that was laden with spears. Then Sir Tristram rode ne
him, and said, 'Fair knight, why sit ye so drooping, for ye seem to be
errant knight by your arms and harness, and therefore dress ye to ju
with one of us or with both.' Therewith that knight made no words, l
took his shield and buckled it about his neck, and lightly he took his ho
and leaped upon him, and then he took a great spear of his squire, a
departed his way a furlong."

And so we read in another place:—"Sir Dinadan spake on high a
said, 'Sir Knight, make thee ready to just with me, for it is the custom
all arrant knights one for to just with another.' 'Sir,' said Sir Epinog
'is that the rule of your arrant knights, for to make a knight to j
whether he will or not?' 'As for that, make thee ready, for here is
me.' And therewith they spurred their horses, and met together so h
that Sir Epinogris smote down Sir Dinadan"—and so taught him the tr
of the adage "that it is wise to let sleeping dogs lie."

But they did not merely take the chance of meeting one another as t
journeyed. A knight in quest of adventures would sometimes station h
self at a ford or bridge, and mount guard all day long, and let no kni
errant pass until he had jousted with him. Thus we read "then they r
forth all together, King Mark, Sir Lamorake, and Sir Dinadan, till
they came unto a bridge, and at the end of that bridge stood a fair to
Then saw they a knight on horseback, well armed, brandishing a sp
crying and proffering himself to just." And again, "When King M

nd Sir Dinadan had ridden about four miles, they came unto a bridge, hereas hoved a knight on horseback, and ready to just. 'So,' said Sir Dinadan unto King Mark, 'yonder hoveth a knight that will just, for there hall none pass this bridge but he must just with that knight.'"

And again: "They rode through the forest, and at the last they were ware of two pavilions by a priory with two shields, and the one shield was renewed with white and the other shield was red. 'Thou shalt not pass his way,' said the dwarf, 'but first thou must just with yonder knights that bide in yonder pavilions that thou seest.' Then was Sir Tor ware where two pavilions were, and great spears stood out, and two shields hung on two trees by the pavilions." In the same way a knight would take up his bode for a few days at a wayside cross where four ways met, in order to meet adventures from east, west, north, and south. Notice of adventures was sometimes affixed upon such a cross, as we read in "Prince Arthur": And so Sir Galahad and he rode forth all that week ere they found any adventure. And then upon a Sunday, in the morning, as they were departed from an abbey, they came unto a cross which departed two ways. And on that cross were letters written which said thus: *Now ye knights-errant that goeth forth for to seek adventures, see here two ways,*" &c.

Wherever they went, they made diligent inquiry for adventures. Thus Sir Launcelot departed, and by adventure he came into a forest. And in the midst of a highway he met with a damsel riding on a white palfrey, and either saluted other: 'Fair damsel,' said Sir Launcelot, 'know ye in this country any adventures?' 'Sir Knight,' said the damsel, 'here are adventures near at hand, an thou durst prove them.' 'Why should I not prove adventures,' said Sir Launcelot, 'as for that cause came I hither?'" And on another occasion, we read, Sir Launcelot passed out of the (King Arthur's) court to seek adventures, and Sir Ector made him ready to meet Sir Launcelot, and as he had ridden long in a great forest, he met with a man that was like a forester.—These frequent notices of "riding long through a great forest" are noticeable as evidences of the condition of the country in those days.—"Fair fellow," said Sir Ector, knowest thou in this country any adventures which be here nigh at hand?" Sir," said the forester, "this country know I well, and here within this

mile is a strong manor and well ditched"—not well walled; it was t
fashion of the Middle Ages to choose low sites for their manor-houses, a
to surround them with moats—such moats are still common round c
manor-houses in Essex—"and by that manor on the left hand is a fair fo
for horses to drink, and over that ford there groweth a fair tree, a
thereon hangeth many fair shields that belonged some time unto go
knights; and at the bole of the tree hangeth a bason of copper and late
and strike upon that bason with the end of the spear thrice, and soon af

Preliminaries of Combat in Green Court of Castle.

thou shalt hear good tidings, and else hast thou the fairest grace that ma
a year any knight had that passed through this forest."

Every castle offered hope, not only of hospitality, but also of a tria
arms; for in every castle there would be likely to be knights and squi
glad of the opportunity of running a course with bated spears with a r
and skilful antagonist. Here is a picture from an old MS. which rep
sents the preliminaries of such a combat on the green between the ca
walls and the moat. In many castles there was a special tilting-grou
Thus we read, "Sir Percivale passed the water, and when he came u

the castle gate, he said to the porter, 'Go thou unto the good knight within the castle, and tell him that here is came an errant knight to just with him.' 'Sir,' said the porter, 'ride ye within the castle, and there shall ye find a common place for justing, that lords and ladies may behold you.'" At Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, the tilting-ground remains to this day; a plot of level green sward, with raised turfed banks round it, that at the same time served as the enclosure of the lists, and a vantage-ground from which the spectators might see the sport. At Gawsworth, also, the ancient tilting-ground still remains. But in most castles of any size, the outer court afforded room enough for a course, and at the worst there was the green meadow outside the castle walls. In some castles they had special customs; just as in old-fashioned country-houses one used to be told it was "the custom of the house" to do this and that; so it was "the custom of the castle" for every knight to break three lances, for instance, or exchange three strokes of sword with the lord — a quondam errant knight be sure, thus creating adventures for himself at home when marriage and cares of property forbade him to roam in search of them. Thus, in the Romance :—"Sir Tristram and Sir Dinadan rode forth their way till they came to some shepherds and herdsmen, and there they asked if they knew any lodging or harbour thereabout." "Forsooth, fair lords," said the herdsmen, "nigh hereby is a good lodging in a castle, but such a custom there is that there shall no knight be lodged but if he first just with two knights, and if ye be beaten, and have the worse, ye shall not be lodged there, and if ye beat them, ye shall be well lodged." The Knights of the Round Table easily vanquished the two knights of the castle, and were hospitably received; but while they were at table came Sir Palomides, and Sir Gaheris, "requiring to have the custom of the castle." "And now," said Sir Tristram, "must we defend the custom of the castle, inasmuch as we have the better of the lord of the castle."

Here is the kind of invitation they were sure to receive from gentlemen living peaceably on their estates, but sympathising with the high spirit and love of adventure which sent young knights a-wandering through their woods and meadows, and under their castle walls :—Sir Tristram and Sir Gareth "were ware of a knight that came riding against [towards] them

unarmed, and nothing about him but a sword; and when this knight cam nigh them he saluted them, and they him again. 'Fair knights,' said th knight, 'I pray you, inasmuch as ye are knights errant, that ye will com and see my castle, and take such as ye find there, I pray you heartily And so they rode with him to his castle, and there they were brought the hall that was well appareled, and so they were unarmed and set at board."

We have already heard in these brief extracts of knights lodging castles and abbeys: we often find them received at manor-houses. He is one of the most graphic pictures:—"Then Sir Launcelot mounted upo his horse and rode into many strange and wild countries, and throug many waters and valleys, and evil was he lodged. And at the last, l fortune, it happened him against a night to come to a poor courtilag and therein he found an old gentleman, which lodged him with a goo will, and there he and his horse were well cheered. And when time wa his host brought him to a fair garret over a gate to his bed. There S Launcelot unarmed him, and set his harness by him, and went to be and anon he fell in sleep. So, soon after, there came one on horseba and knocked at the gate in great haste. And when Sir Launcel heard this, he arose up and looked out at the window, and saw by t moonlight three knights that came riding after that one man, and three lashed upon him at once with their swords, and that one knig turned on them knightly again, and defended himself." And Sir Launcel like an errant knight, "took his harness and went out at the window by sheet," and made them yield, and commanded them at Whit Sunday to to King Arthur's court, and there yield them unto Queen Guenever's gra and mercy; for so errant knights gave to their lady-loves the evidences their prowess, and did them honour, by sending them a constant successi of vanquished knights, and putting them "unto her grace and mercy."

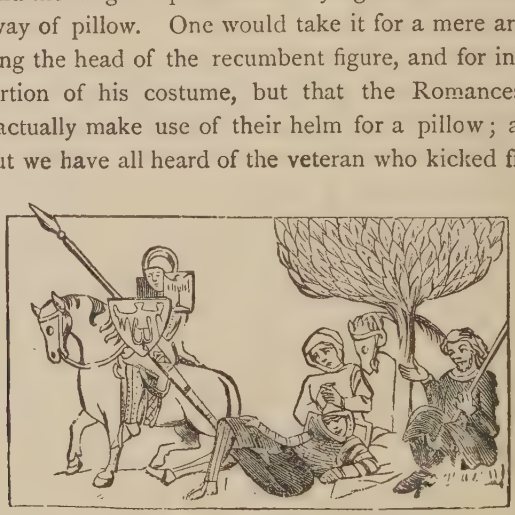
Very often the good knight in the midst of forest or wild found a nigh shelter in a friendly hermitage, for hermitages, indeed, were establish partly to afford shelter to belated travellers. Here is an example. Tor asks the dwarf who is his guide, "'Know ye any lodging?' 'I kn none,' said the dwarf; 'but here beside is an hermitage, and there ye mu

e such lodging as ye find.' And within a while they came to the mitage and took lodging, and there was grass and oats and bread for ir horses. Soon it was spread, and full hard was their supper; but re they rested them all the night till on the morrow, and heard a mass outly, and took their leave of the hermit, and Sir Tor prayed the hermit pray for him, and he said he would, and betook him to God; and so mounted on horseback, and rode towards Camelot."

But sometimes not even a friendly hermitage came in sight at the hour twilight, when the forest glades darkened, and the horse track across moor could no longer be seen, and the knight had to betake himself to a lier's bivouac. It is an incident often met with in the Romances. Here a more poetical description than usual:—"And anon these knights le them ready, and rode over holts and hills, through forests and woods, they came to a fair meadow full of fair flowers and grass, and there y rested them and their horses all that night." Again, "Sir Launcelot e into a forest, and there he met with a gentlewoman riding upon a te palfrey, and she asked him, 'Sir Knight, whither ride ye?' 'Cerly, damsel,' said Sir Launcelot, 'I wot not whither I ride, but as fortune leth me.' . . . . . Then Sir Launcelot asked her where he might be boured that night. 'Ye shall none find this day nor night, but torrow ye shall find good harbour.' And then he commended her unto d. Then he rode till he came to a cross, and took that for his host as that night. And he put his horse to pasture, and took off his helm and eld, and made his prayers to the cross, that he might never again fall deadly sin, and so he laid him down to sleep, and anon as he slept it el him that he had a vision," with which we will not trouble the reader; we commend the incident to any young artist in want of a subject for icture: the wayside cross where the four roads meet in the forest, the rled tree-trunks with their foliage touched with autumn tints, and the en bracken withering into brown and yellow and red, under the level s of the sun which fling alternate bars of light and shade across the ne; and the noble war-horse peacefully grazing on the short sweet est grass, and the peerless knight in glorious gilded arms, with his met at his feet, and his great spear leaned against a tree-trunk, kneeling

before the cross, with his grave noble face, and his golden hair gleami the sun-light, "making his prayers that he might never again fall deadly sin."

In the old monumental brasses in which pictures of the knightly cos are preserved to us with such wonderful accuracy and freshness, it is common to find the knight represented as lying with his tilting helm u his head by way of pillow. One would take it for a mere artistic arr ment for raising the head of the recumbent figure, and for introducin important portion of his costume, but that the Romances tell us knights did actually make use of their helm for a pillow; a hard p no doubt—but we have all heard of the veteran who kicked from und



Knights, Damsel, and Squire.

son's head the snowball which he had rolled together for a pillow bivouac in the winter snow, indignant at his degenerate effeminacy. we read of Sir Tristram and Sir Palomides, "They mounted upon their h and rode together into the forest, and there they found a fair wel clear water burbelling. 'Fair Sir,' said Sir Tristram, 'to drink of that have I a lust.' And then they alighted from their horses, and then they ware by them where stood a great horse tied to a tree, and ev neighed, and then were they ware of a fair knight armed under a tree ing no piece of harness, save his helm lay under his head. Said Sir tram, 'Yonder lieth a fair knight, what is best to do?' 'Awake him Sir Palomides. So Sir Tristram waked him with the end of his s

They had better have let him be, for the knight, thus roused, got him to horse and overthrew them both. Again, we read how "Sir Launcelot bad his brother, Sir Lionel, to make him ready, for we two, said he, will seek adventures. So they mounted upon their horses, armed at all points, and rode into a deep forest, and after they came into a great plain, and then the weather was hot about noon, and Sir Launcelot had great lust to sleep. Then Sir Lionel espied a great apple-tree that stood by a hedge, and said, 'Brother, yonder is a fair shadow; there may we rest us, and our horses.' 'It is well said, fair brother,' said Sir Launcelot, 'for all the seven year I was not so sleepy as I am now.' And so they alighted there, and tied their horses unto sundry trees, and so Sir Launcelot laid him down under an apple-tree, and laid his helm under his head. And Sir Lionel waked while he slept."

The knight did not, however, always trust to chance for shelter, and risk a night in the open air. Sometimes we find he took the field in this mimic warfare with a baggage train, and had his tent pitched for the night wherever night overtook him, or camped for a few days wherever a pleasant glade, or a fine prospect, or an agreeable neighbour, tempted him to prolong his stay. And he would picket his horse hard by, and thrust his spear into the ground beside the tent door, and hang his shield upon it. Thus we read:—"Now turn we unto Sir Launcelot, that had long been riding in a great forest, and at last came into a low country, full of fair rivers and meadows, and afore him he saw a long bridge, and three pavilions stood thereon of silk and sendal of divers hue, and without the pavilions hung three white shields on truncheons of spears, and great long spears stood upright by the pavilions, and at every pavilion's door stood three fresh squires, and so Sir Launcelot passed by them, and spake not a word." We may say here that it was not unusual for people in fine weather to pitch a tent in the courtyard or garden of the castle, and live there instead of indoors, or to go a-field and pitch a little camp in some pleasant place, and spend the time in justing and feasting, and mirth and minstrelsy. We read in one of the Romances how "the king and queen—King Arthur and Queen Guenever, to wit—made their pavilions and their tents to be pitched in the forest, beside a river, and there was daily hunting, for there

were ever twenty knights ready for to just with all them that came i
that time." And here, in the woodcut below, is a picture of the scene

Usually, perhaps, there was not much danger in these adventures
knight-errant. There was a fair prospect of bruises, and a risk of bro
bones if he got an awkward fall, but not more risk perhaps than in
modern hunting-field. Even if the combat went further than the u
three courses with bated spears, if they did draw swords and continue
combat on foot, there was usually no more real danger than in a duc
German students. But sometimes cause of anger would acciden

King, &c., in Pavilion before Castle.

rise between two errant knights, or the combat begun in courtesy w
fire their hot blood, and they would resolve "worshipfully to win wors
or die knightly on the field," and a serious encounter would take p
There were even some knights of evil disposition enough to take de
in making every combat a serious one; and some of the adventures in w
we take most interest relate how these bloodthirsty bullies, attackin
ignorance some Knight of the Round Table, got a well-deserved bl
letting for their pains.

We must give one example of a combat—rather a long one, but it
bines many different points of interest. "So as they (Merlin and

rthur) went thus talking, they came to a fountain, and a rich pavilion by . Then was King Arthur aware where a knight sat all armed in a chair. Sir Knight,' said King Arthur, 'for what cause abidest thou here, that here may no knight ride this way, but if he do just with thee; leave that ustom.' 'This custom,' said the knight, 'have I used, and will use naugre who saith nay, and who is grieved with my custom, let him amend that will.' 'I will amend it,' saith King Arthur. 'And I shall defend ,' saith the knight. Anon he took his horse, and dressed his shield, and ook a spear; and they met so hard either on other's shield, that they hivered their spears. Therewith King Arthur drew his sword. 'Nay, ot so,' saith the knight, 'it is fairer that we twain run more together with

Knights Justing.

sharp spears.' 'I will well,' said King Arthur, 'an I had any more spears.' 'I have spears enough,' said the knight. So there came a squire, and brought two good spears, and King Arthur took one, and he another; so they spurred their horses, and came together with all their might, that either break their spears in their hands. Then King Arthur set hand to his sword. 'Nay,' said the knight, 'ye shall do better; ye are a passing good juster as ever I met withal; for the love of the high order of knighthood let us just it once again.' 'I assent me,' said King Arthur. Anon there were brought two good spears, and each knight got a spear, and therewith they ran together, that King Arthur's spear broke to shivers. But the knight hit him so hard in the middle of the shield, that horse

and man fell to the earth, wherewith King Arthur was sore angered, drew out his sword, and said, 'I will assay thee, Sir Knight, on for I have lost the honour on horseback.' 'I will be on horseback,' the knight. Then was King Arthur wrath, and dressed his shield tow him with his sword drawn. When the knight saw that, he alightee him, for he thought it was no worship to have a knight at such advan he to be on horseback, and the other on foot, and so alighted, and dre himself to King Arthur. Then there began a strong battle with many strokes, and so hewed with their swords that the cantels flew on the and much blood they bled both, so that all the place where they fo was all bloody; and thus they fought long and rested them, and then went to battle again, and so hurtled together like two wild boars, either of them fell to the earth. So at the last they smote together, both their swords met even together. But the sword of the knight sn King Arthur's sword in two pieces, wherefore he was heavy. Then the knight to the king, 'Thou art in my danger, whether me list to thee or save thee; and but thou yield thee as overcome and recreant, shalt die.' 'As for death,' said King Arthur, 'welcome be it whe cometh, but as to yield me to thee as recreant, I had liever die than b shamed.' And therewithal the king leapt upon Pelinore, and took by the middle, and threw him down, and rased off his helmet. W the knight felt that he was a dread, for he was a passing big man of mi and anon he brought King Arthur under him, and rased off his heli and would have smitten off his head. Therewithal came Merlin, and s 'Knight, hold thy hand.'"

Happy for the wounded knight if there were a religious house at ha for there he was sure to find kind hospitality and such surgical skill as times afforded. King Bagdemagus had this good fortune when he been wounded by Sir Galahad. "I am sore wounded," said he, " full hardly shall I escape from the death. Then the squire fet [fetch his horse, and brought him with great pain to an abbey. Then was taken down softly and unarmed, and laid in a bed, and his wound looked into, for he lay there long and escaped hard with his life." Sir Tristram, in his combat with Sir Marhaus, was so sorely wound

hat unneath he might recover, and lay at a nunnery half a year." Such ventures sometimes, no doubt, ended fatally, as in the case of the fortunate Sir Marhaus, and there was a summary conclusion to his ventures; and there was nothing left but to take him home and bury n in his parish church, and hang his sword and helmet over his tomb.[1] any a knight would be satisfied with the series of adventures which ished by laying him on a sick bed for six months, with only an ancient n for his nurse; and as soon as he was well enough he would get nself conveyed home on a horse litter, a sadder and a wiser man. The dern romances have good mediæval authority, too, for making marriage natural conclusion of their three volumes of adventures; we have no s authority for it than that of Sir Launcelot:—"Now, damsel," said he, the conclusion of an adventure, "will ye any more service of me?" Nay, sir," said she at this time, "but God preserve you, wherever ye or ride, for the courtliest knight thou art, and meekest to all ladies d gentlewomen that now liveth. But, Sir Knight, one thing me thinketh t ye lack, ye that are a knight wifeless, that ye will not love some iden or gentlewoman, for I could never hear say that ye loved any of manner degree, wherefore many in this country of high estate and low ke great sorrow." "Fair damsel," said Sir Launcelot, "to be a wedded n I think never to be, for if I were, then should I be bound to tarry th my wife, and leave arms and tournaments, battles and adventures."

We have only space left for a few examples of the quaint and poetical rases that, as we have said, frequently occur in these Romances, some which Tennyson has culled, and set like uncut mediæval gems in circlet of "Idyls of the King." In the account of the great battle tween King Arthur and his knights against the eleven kings "and ir chivalry," we read "they were so courageous, that many knights ook and trembled for eagerness," and "they fought together, that the

[1] In the MS. Royal, 1,699, is a picture in which are represented a sword and hunting-n hung over a tomb. The helmet, sword, and shield of Edward the Black Prince l hang over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral; Henry IV.'s saddle and helmet over tomb in Westminster Abbey; and in hundreds of parish churches helmets, swords, ntlets, spurs, &c., still hang over the tombs of mediæval knights.

sound rang by the water and the wood," and "there was slain that mo tide ten thousand of good men's bodies." The second of these ex sions is a favourite one; we meet with it again: "when King Ban into the battle, he came in so fiercely, that the stroke resounded from the water and the wood." Again we read, King Arthur " manded his trumpets to blow the bloody sounds in such wise tha earth trembled and dindled." He was "a mighty man of men;" and men of worship said it was merry to be under such a chieftain, that w put his person in adventure as other poor knights did."

CHAPTER V.

KNIGHTS-ERRANT.

IN the British Museum are two volumes containing a rather large number of illuminated pictures which have been cut out of MSS., chiefly of the early fourteenth century, by some collector who did not understand how much more valuable they would have been, even as pictures, if left each by itself in the appropriate setting of its black letter page, than when pasted half-a-dozen together in a scrap-book. That they are severed from the letterpress which they were intended to illustrate is of the less importance, because they seem all to be illustrations of scenes in romances, and it is not difficult to one who is well versed in those early writings either to identify the subjects or to invent histories for them. Each isolated picture affords a subject in which an expert, turning the book over and explaining it to an amateur, would find material for a little lecture on mediæval art and architecture, costume, and manners.

In presenting to the reader the subjects which illustrate this chapter, we find ourselves placed by circumstances in the position of being obliged to treat them like those scrap-book pictures of which we have spoken, viz., as isolated pictures, illustrating generally our subject of the Knights of the Middle Ages, needing each its independent explanation.

The first subject represents a scene from some romance, in which the good knight, attended by his squire, is guided by a damsel on some adventure. As in the scene which we find in Caxton's "Prince Arthur": And the good knight, Sir Galahad, rode so long, till that he came that night to the castle of Carberecke; and it befel him that he was benighted at an hermitage. And when they were at rest there came a gentlewoman

knocking at the door, and called Sir Galahad, and so the hermit came
the door to ask what she would. Then she called the hermit, Sir Ulfr
'I am a gentlewoman that would speak with the knight that is with yo
Then the good man awaked Sir Galahad, and bade him rise and spee
'with a gentlewoman which seemeth hath great need of you.' Then
Galahad went to her, and asked what she would. 'Sir Galahad,' said sh
'I will that you arm you and mount upon your horse and follow me,
I will show you within these three days the highest adventure that ev
knight saw. Anon, Sir Galahad armed him, and took his horse and co

Lady, Knight, and Squire.

mended him to God, and bade the gentlewoman go, and he would fol
her there as she liked. So the damsel rode as fast as her palfrey mi
gallop till that she came to the sea."

Here then we see the lady ambling through the forest, and
rides as ladies rode in the middle ages, and as they still ride, like fem
centaurs, in the Sandwich Islands. She turns easily in her sad
though going at a good pace, to carry on an animated conversation v
the knight. He, it will be seen, is in hauberk and hood of banded n
with the curious ornaments called *ailettes*—little wings—at his should
He seems to have *genouillières*—knee-pieces of plate ; but it is doub
whether he has also plate armour about the leg, or whether the artist

omitted the lines which would indicate that the legs were, as is more probably the case, also protected by banded mail. He wears the prick spur; and his body-armour is protected from sun and rain by the surcoat. Behind him prances his squire. The reader will not fail to notice the character which the artist has thrown into his attitude and the expression of his features. It will be seen that he is not armed, but wears the ordinary civil costume, with a hood and hat; he carries his master's spear, and the shield is suspended at his back by its guige or strap; its hollow shape and the rampant lion emblazoned on it will not be overlooked.

Romance writers are sometimes accused of forgetting that their heroes are human, and need to eat and drink and sleep. But this is hardly true of the old romancers, who, in relating knightly adventures, did not draw

Knight at Supper.

upon their imagination, but described the things which were continually happening about them; and the illuminators in illustrating the romances drew from the life—the life of their own day—and this it is which makes their pictures so naive and truthful in spite of their artistic defects, and so valuable as historical authorities. In the engraving above is a subject which would hardly have occurred to modern romancer or illustrator. The crowd of tents tells us that the scene is cast in the "tented field," either of real war or of the mimic war of some great tournament. The

combat of the day is over. The modern romancer would have droppee the curtain for the day, to be drawn up again next morning when th trumpets of the heralds called the combatants once more to the fiel Our mediæval illuminator has given us a charming episode in the story He has followed the good knight to his pavilion pitched in the meado hard by. The knight has doffed his armour, and taken his bath, and pu on his robes of peace, and heard vespers, and gone to supper. The lighte candles show that it is getting dusk. It is only by an artistic license tha the curtains of the tent are drawn aside to display the whole interior; i reality they were close drawn; these curtains are striped of alternat breadths of gay colours—gold and red and green and blue. Any one wh has seen how picturesque a common bell tent, pitched on the lawn, look from the outside, when one has been tempted by a fine summer evening t stay out late and "have candles," will be able to perceive how picturesqu the striped curtains of this pavilion would be, how eminently picturesqu the group of such pavilions here indicated, with the foliage of trees ove head and the grey walls and towers of a mediæval town in the backgroun with the stars coming out one by one among the turrets and spires sharp defined against the fading sky.

The knight, like a good chevalier and humane master, has first seen h war-horse groomed and fed. And what a sure evidence that the picture from the life is this introduction of the noble animal sharing the shelter the tent of his master, who waits for supper to be served. The furniture the table is worth looking at—the ample white table-cloth, though t table is, doubtless, only a board on trestles; and the two candlesticks massive and elegant shape, show that the candlesticks now called alt candlesticks are only of the ordinary domestic mediæval type, obsole now in domestic use, but still retained, like so many other ancient fashion in ecclesiastical use. There, too, are the wine flagon and cup, and t salt between them; the knife is at the knight's right hand. We almost e pect to see the squire of the last picture enter from behind, bearing aloft both hands a fat capon on an ample pewter platter.

The little subject which is next engraved will enable us to introdu from the Romance of Prince Arthur a description of an adventure and

graphic account of the different turns and incidents of a single combat, told in language which is rich in picturesque obsolete words. "And so they rode forth a great while till they came to the borders of that country, and there they found a full fair village, with a strong bridge like a fortress.* And when Sir Launcelot and they were at the bridge, there start forth before them many gentlemen and yeomen, which said, 'Fair lord, ye may not pass over this bridge and this fortress but one of you at once, therefore choose which of you shall enter within this bridge first.' Then Sir Launcelot proffered himself first to enter within this bridge. 'Sir,' said

Defending the Bridge.

Sir La Cote Male Taile, 'I beseech you let me enter first within this fortress, and if I speed well I will send for you, and if it happen that I be slain there it goeth; and if so be that I am taken prisoner then may ye come and rescue me.' 'I am loath,' said Sir Launcelot, 'to let you take this passage.' 'Sir,' said he, 'I pray you let me put my body in this adventure.' 'Now go your way,' said Sir Launcelot, 'and God be your speed.' So he entered, and anon there met with him two brethren, the one hight Sir Pleine de Force and that other hight Sir Pleine de Amours; and anon they met with Sir La Cote Male Taile, and first Sir La Cote Male Taile smote down Sir Pleine de Force, and soon after he smote down Sir

* Probably a bridge with a tower to defend the approach to it.

Pleine de Amours; and then they dressed themselves to their shields and swords, and so they bade Sir La Cote Male Taile alight, and so he did and there was dashing and foining with swords. And so they began full hard to assay Sir La Cote Tale Maile, and many great wounds they gave him upon his head and upon his breast and upon his shoulders. And as he might ever among he gave sad strokes again. And then the two brethren traced and traversed for to be on both hands of Sir La Cote Male Taile. But by fine force and knighly prowess he got them afore him. And so then when he felt himself so wounded he doubled his strokes, and gave them so many wounds that he felled them to the earth, and would have slain them had they not yielded them. And right so Sir La Cote Male Taile took the best horse that there was of them two, and so rode forth his way to that other fortress and bridge, and there he met with the third brother, whose name was Sir Plenorius, a full noble knight, and there they justed together, and either smote other down, horse and man to the earth. And then they two avoided their horses and dressed their shields and drew their swords and gave many sad strokes, and one while the one knight was afore on the bridge and another while the other. And thus they fought two hours and more and never rested. Then Sir La Cote Male Taile sunk down upon the earth, for what for wounds and what for blood he might not stand. Then the other knight had pity of him, and said, 'Fair young knight, dismay you not, for if ye had been fresh when ye met with me, as I was, I know well I should not have endured so long as ye have done, and therefore for your noble deeds and valiantness I shall show you great kindness and gentleness in all that ever I may.' And forthwith the noble knight, Sir Plenorius, took him up in his arms and led him into his tower. And then he commended him the more and made him for to search him and for to stop his bleeding wounds. 'Sir,' said Sir La Cote Male Taile, 'withdraw you from me, and hie you to yonder bridge again, for there will meet you another manner knight than ever I was.' Then Sir Plenorius gat his horse and came with a great spear in his hand galloping as the hurl wind had borne him towards Sir Launcelot and then they began to feutre* their spears, and came together like

* Couch.

hunder, and smote either other so mightily that their horses fell down nder them; and then they avoided their horses and drew out their words, and like two bulls they lashed together with great strokes and oins; but ever Sir Launcelot recovered ground upon him, and Sir Pleno- ius traced to have from about him, and Sir Launcelot would not suffer hat, but bore him backer and backer, till he came nigh the gate tower, and hen said Sir Launcelot, 'I know thee well for a good knight, but wot thou vell thy life and death is in my hands, and therefore yield thou to me and hy prisoners.' The other answered not a word, but struck mightily upon Sir Launcelot's helm that fire sprang out of his eyes; then Sir Launcelot loubled his strokes so thick and smote at him so mightily that he made him o kneel upon his knees, and therewith Sir Launcelot lept upon him, and pulled him down grovelling; then Sir Plenorius yielded him and his tower and all his prisoners at his will, and Sir Launcelot received him and took his troth." We must tell briefly the chivalrous sequel. Sir Launcelot offered to Sir La Cote Male Taile all the possessions of the conquered knight, but he refused to receive them, and begged Sir Launcelot to let Sir Plenorius retain his livelihood on condition he would be King Arthur's knight,—"'Full well,' said Sir Launcelot, 'so that he will come to the court of King Arthur and become his man and his three brethren. And as for you, Sir Plenorius, I will undertake, at the next feast, so there be a place void, that ye shall be Knight of the Round Table.' Then Sir Launcelot and Sir La Cote Male Taile rested them there, and then they had merry cheer and good rest and many good games, and there were many fair ladies." In the woodcut we see Sir La Cote Male Taile, who has just overthrown Sir Pleine de Force at the foot of the bridge, and the gentlemen and yeomen are looking on out of the windows and over the battlements of the gate tower.

The illuminators are never tired of representing battles and sieges; and he general impression which we gather from them is that a mediæval combat must have presented to the lookers-on a confused *melée* of rushing horses and armoured men in violent action, with a forest of weapons overhead—great swords, and falchions, and axes, and spears, with pennons fluttering aloft here and there in the breeze of the combat.

We almost fancy we can see the dust caused by the prancing horse and hear the clash of weapons and the hoarse war-cries, and sometim can almost hear the shriek which bursts from the maddened horse, the groan of the man who is wounded and helpless under the trampli hoofs. The woodcut introduced represents such a scene in a ve spirited way. But it is noticeable among a hundred similar scenes for o incident, which is very unusual, and which gives us a glimpse of anoth aspect of mediæval war. It will be seen that the combat is taking pla outside a castle or fortified town; and that, on a sudden, in the co

A Sally across the Drawbridge.

fusion of the combat, a side gate has been opened, and the bridge lower and a solid column of men-at-arms, on foot, is marching in military ar across the bridge, in order to turn the flank of the assailant chivalry. do not happen to know a representation of this early age of anything thoroughly soldierly in its aspect as this sally. The incident itself in cates something more like regular war than the usual confused mingling knights so well represented on the left side of the picture. The fact men-at-arms, armed *cap-a-pied*, acting on foot, is not very usual at t

eriod; their unmistakable military order, as they march two and two ith shields held in the same attitude and spears sloped at the same ngle, speaks of accurate drill. The armorial bearings on the shield of one f the foremost rank perhaps point out the officer in command.

It seems to be commonly assumed that the soldiers of the Middle Ages ad little, if anything, like our modern drill and tactics; that the men ere simply put into the field in masses, according to some rude initial lan of the general, but that after the first charge the battle broke up into series of chance-medley combats, in which the leaders took a personal hare; and that the only further piece of generalship consisted in bringing p a body of reserve to strengthen a corps which was giving ground, or to hrow an overwhelming force upon some corps of the enemy which seemed o waver.

It is true that we find very little information about the mediæval drill r tactics, but it is very possible that there was more of both than is com- nonly supposed. Any man whose duty it was to marshal and handle a ody of troops would very soon, even if left to his own wit, invent enough f drill to enable him to move his men about from place to place, and to ut them into the different formations necessary to enable them effectively o act on the offensive or defensive under different circumstances. A eader whose duty it was to command several bodies of troops would ivent the elements of tactics, enough to enable him to combine them in a eneral plan of battle, and to take advantage of the different turns of the ght. Experience would rapidly ripen the knowledge of military men, id of experience they had only too much. It is true that the armies of ediæval England consisted chiefly of levies of men who were not pro- ssional soldiers, and the officers and commanders were marked out for adership by their territorial possessions, not by their military skill. But e men were not unaccustomed to their weapons, and were occasionally ustered for feudal display; and the country gentlemen who officered em were trained to military exercises as a regular part of their education, id, we may assume, to so much of military skill as was necessary to lfil their part as knights. Then there were mercenary captains, who by ntinuous devotion to war acquired great knowledge and experience in all

military affairs; and the men who had to do with them, either as friends
foes, learnt from them. We need only glance down the line of our kir
to find abundance of great captains among them—William the Conquer
and Stephen, and Richard I., and Edward I. and III., and Henry I
and V., and Edward IV., and Richard III. And military skill equal
the direction of armies was no less common among the nobility; a
ability to take command of his own contingent was expected of every c
who held his lands on condition of being always ready and able to foll
his lord's banner to the field.

In the Saxon days the strength of the army seems to have consisted
footmen, and their formation was generally in close and deep ranks, w
joining their shoulders together, formed an impenetrable defence; wid
ing long heavy swords and battle-axes, they made a terrible assault. So
insight into the tactics of the age is given by William of Malmesbu
assertion that at Hastings the Normans made a feigned flight, which di
the Saxons from their close array, and then turning upon them, took th
at advantage; and repeated this manœuvre more than once at the w
of command.

The strength of the Norman armies, on the other hand, consisted
knights and mounted men-at-arms. The military engines were placed
front, and commenced the engagement with their missiles; the arch
and slingers were placed on the wings. The crowd of half-armed footr
usually formed the first line; the mounted troops were drawn up beh
them in three lines, whose successive charges formed the main attack
the engagement. Occasionally, however, dismounted men-at-arms se
to have been used by some skilful generals with great effect. In sev
of the battles of Stephen's reign, this unusual mode appears to have b
followed, under the influence of the foreign mercenary captains in
king's pay.

Generals took pains to secure any possible advantage from the na
of the ground, and it follows that the plan of the battle must have tur
sometimes on the defence or seizure of some commanding point wh
formed the key of the position. Ambuscades were a favourite devic
which we not unfrequently read, and night surprises were equally comm

e read also occasionally of stratagems, especially in the capture of tresses, which savour rather of romance than of the stern realities of r. In short, perhaps the warfare of that day was not so very inferior military skill to that of our own times as some suppose. In our last r the charge at Balaklava was as chivalrous a deed as ever was done the Middle Ages, and Inkerman a fight of heroes; but neither of them played more military science than was displayed by the Norman valry who charged at Hastings, or the Saxon billmen whose sturdy rage all but won the fatal day.

CHAPTER VI

MILITARY ENGINES.

TO attempt to represent the knights in their manor-houses
castles would be to enter upon an essay on the domestic
military architecture of the Middle Ages, which would be bey
the plan of these sketches of the mediæval chivalry. The student may
information on the subject in Mr. Parker's "Domestic Architecture
Grose's "Military Antiquities," in Viollet le Duc's "Architecture du M
Age," and scattered over the publications of the various antiquarian
architectural societies. We must, however, say a few words as to the
in which the knight defended his castle when attacked in it, and ho
attacked his neighbour's castle or his enemy's town, in private feu
public war.

It seems to be a common impression that the most formidable aspe
mediæval war was a charge of knights with vizor down and lance in
and that these gallant cavaliers only pranced their horses round and r
the outer margin of the moat of a mediæval castle, or if they did disn
and try to take the fortress by assault, would rage in vain against its
walls and barred portcullis; as in the accompanying woodcut from a
romance of the early part of the 14th century (Add. 10,292, f. v.,
A.D. 1316), where the king on his curveting charger couches his
against the castle wall, and has only his shield to oppose to the great
which is about to be hurled down upon his head. The impression
doubt, due to the fact that many people have read romances, ancien
modern, which concern themselves with the personal adventures of
heroes, but have not read mediæval history, which tells—even more

ough—of battles and sieges. They have only had the knight put before em—as in the early pages of these chapters—in the pomp and pageantry chivalry. They have not seen him as the captain and soldier, directing d wielding the engines of war.

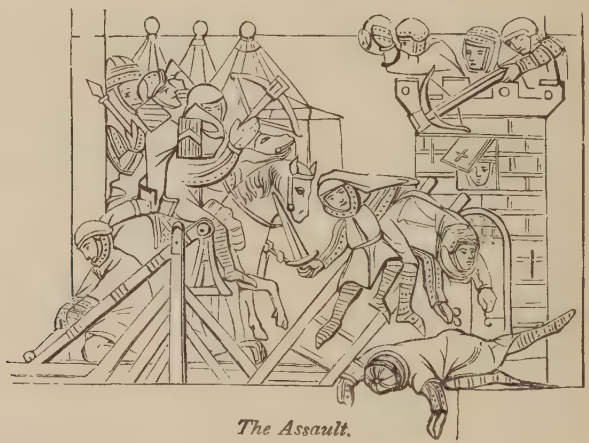
Suppose the king and his chivalry in the following woodcut to be only mmoning the castle; and suppose them, on receiving a refusal to sur-nder, to resolve upon an assault. They retire a few hundred yards and smount, and put their horses under the care of a guard. Presently they urn supported by a strong body of archers, who ply the mail-clad de-

Summoning the Castle.

nders with such a hail of arrows that they are driven to seek shelter behind e battlements. Seizing that moment, a party of camp followers run ward with a couple of planks, which they throw over the moat to make temporary bridge. They are across in an instant, and place scaling-lders against the walls. The knights, following close at their heels, ount rapidly, each man carrying his shield over his head, so that the bare lder is converted into a covered stair, from whose shield-roof arrows nt and stones roll off innocuous. It is easy to see that a body of the emy might thus, in a few minutes, effect a lodgment on the castle-wall, d open a way for the whole party of assailants into the interior.

But the assailed may succeed in throwing down the ladders; or in b ing the enemy off them by hurling down great stones ready stored aga such an emergency, or heaving the coping-stones off the battlements; they may succeed in preventing the assailants from effecting a lodgment the wall by a hand to hand encounter; and thus the assault may be fo and beaten off. Still our mediæval captain has other resources; he next order up his "gyns," *i.e.* engines of war.

The name applies chiefly to machines constructed for the purpose hurling heavy missiles. The ancient nations of antiquity possessed s machines, and the knowledge of them descended to mediæval times. Th



The Assault.

seems, however, to be this great difference between the classical and mediæval engines, that the former were constructed on the principle of bow, the latter on the principle of the sling. The classical *ballista* was fact, a huge cross-bow, made in a complicated way and worked by chinery. The mediæval *trebuchet* was a sling wielded by a gigantic arm wood. In mediæval Latin the ancient name of the ballista is sometir found, but in the mediæval pictures the principle of the engines illustra is always that which we have described. We meet also in mediæ writings with the names of the *mangona* and *mangonella* and the *catap* but they were either different names for the same engine, or names

fferent species of the same genus. The woodcut here introduced from e MS. Add. 10,294, f. 81 v., gives a representation of a trebuchet. A still rlier representation—viz., of the thirteenth century—of machines of the me kind is to be found in the Arabic MS. quoted in a treatise, "Du u Grégois," by MM. Favé and Reinaud, and leads to the supposition at the sling principle in these machines may have been introduced from e East. There are other representations of a little later date than that the text (viz., about A.D. 1330) in the Royal MS. 16 G. VI., which are graved in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations." We also possess a con-mporary description of the machine in the work of Gilles Colonne (who ed A.D. 1316), written for Philip the Fair of France.* "Of *perriers*," says, "there are four kinds, and in all these machines there is a beam hich is raised and lowered by means of a counterpoise, a sling being at-ched to the end of the beam to discharge the stone. Sometimes the unterpoise is not sufficient, and then they attach ropes to it to move the am." This appears to be the case in our illustration. The rope seems be passed through a ring in the platform of the engine, so that the force plied to the rope acts to the greater advantage in aid of the weight of e beam. "The counterpoise may either be fixed or movable, or both at ce. In the fixed counterpoise a box is fastened to the end of the beam, d filled with stones or sand, or any heavy body." One would not, rhaps, expect such a machine to possess any precision of action, but cording to our author the case was far otherwise. "These machines," continues, "anciently called *trabutium*, cast their missiles with the nost exactness, because the weight acts in a uniform manner. Their n is so sure, that one may, so to say, hit a needle. If the gyn carries too . it must be drawn back or loaded with a heavier stone; if the contrary, en it must be advanced or a smaller stone supplied; for without atten-tion to the weight of the stone, one cannot hope to reach the given rk." "Others of these machines have a movable counterpoise attached the beam, turning upon an axis. This variety the Romans called *biffa*. e third kind, which is called *tripantum*, has two weights, one fixed to beam and the other movable round it. By this means it throws with

* Hewitt's "Ancient Armour," i. p. 349.

more exactness than the *biffa*, and to a greater distance than the trebuch
The fourth sort, in lieu of weights fixed to the beam, has a number
ropes, and is discharged by means of men pulling simultaneously at
cords. This last kind does not cast such large stones as the others, bu
has the advantage that it may be more rapidly loaded and discharged th
they. In using the perriers by night it is necessary to attach a lighted bo
to the projectile. By this means one may discover the force of the
chine, and regulate the weight of the stone accordingly." * This, then
the engine which our captain, repulsed in his attempt to take the place
a *coup de main*, has ordered up, adjusting it, no doubt, like a good capta
with his own eye and hand, until he has got it, "so to say, to hi
neeedle," on the weak points of the place. It was usual in great sie
to have several of them, so that a whole battery might be set to work
overmaster the defence.

We must bear in mind that similar engines were, it is probable, usua
mounted on the towers of the castle. We should judge from the roundnes
the stones which the defenders in both the preceding woodcuts are throw
down by hand upon the enemy immediately beneath, that they are
stones provided for the military engines. We find that, as in modern tim
cannon is set to silence the cannon of the enemy, so that a battle becom
for a time at least, an artillery duel, so engine was set to silence engi
In the account which Guillaume des Ormes gives of his defence of
French town of Carcasonne in 1240 A.D., he says: "They set up a m
gonel before our barbican, when we lost no time in opposing to it fr
within an excellent Turkish petrary, which played upon the mangonel a
those about it, so that when they essayed to cast upon us, and saw the be
of our petrary in motion, they fled, utterly abandoning their mangonel."

There was also an engine called an *arbalast*, or *spurgardon*, or *espring*
which was a huge cross-bow mounted on wheels, so as to be movable l
a field-piece; it threw great pointed bolts with such force as to pass s
cessively through several men.

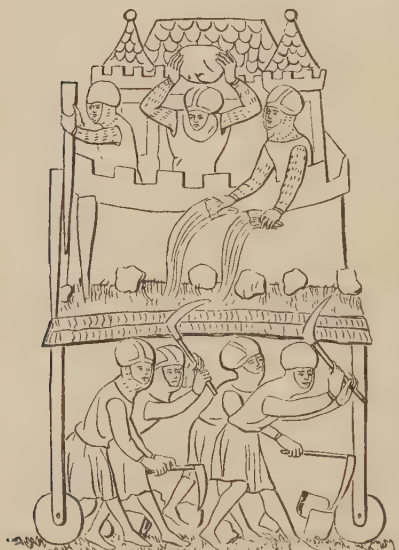
If the engines of the besiegers were silenced, or failed to produce

* The album of Villars de Honnecourt, of the thirteenth century, contains direct
for constructing the trebuchet.

decisive impression on the place, the captain of the assailants might try the effect of the ram. We seldom, indeed, hear of its use in the Middle Ages, but one instance, at least, is recorded by Richard of Devizes, who says that Richard I., at the siege of Messina, forced in the gates of the city by the application of the battering-ram, and so won his way into the place, and captured it. The walls of mediæval fortifications were so immensely thick, that a ram would be little likely to break them. The gates, too, of a castle or fortified gate-tower were very strong. If the reader will look at the picture of a siege of a castle, given on page 373, he will see a representation of a castle-gate, which will help him to understand its defences. First he will see that the drawbridge is raised, so that the assailant has to bridge the moat before he can bring his battering-ram to bear. Suppose the yawning gulf bridged with planks or filled in with fascines, and the ram brought into position, under fire from the loops of the projecting towers of the gate as well as from the neighbouring battlements, then the bridge itself forms an outer door which must first be battered down. Behind it will be found the real outer-door, made as strong as oak timber and iron bolts can make it. That down, there is next the grated portcullis seen in two previous woodcuts, against which the ram would rattle with a great clang of iron; but the grating, with its wide spaces, and having plenty of "play" in its stone groove, would baffle the blows by the absence of a solid resistance, and withstand them by the tenacity of wrought-iron. Even if the bars were bent and torn till they afforded a passage, the assailants would find themselves in the narrow space within the gate-tower confronted by another door, and exposed to missiles poured upon them from above. It is, perhaps, no wonder that we hear little of the use of the ram in mediæval times; though it might be useful occasionally to drive in some ill-defended postern.

The use of the regular mine for effecting a breach in the wall of a fortified place was well known, and often brought to bear. The miners began their work at some distance, and drove a shaft underground towards the part of the fortifications which seemed most assailable; they excavated beneath the foundations of the wall, supporting the substructure with wooden props until they had finished their work. Then they set fire to the props, and

retired to see the unsupported weight of the wall bringing it down in heap of ruins. The operation of mining was usually effected under the p tection of a temporary pent-house, called a *cat* or *sow*. William of Malm bury describes the machine as used in the siege of Jerusalem, at the end the eleventh century. "It is constructed," he says, "of slight timbers, t roof covered with boards and wicker-work, and the sides protected with dressed hides, to protect those who are within, who proceed to undermi the foundations of the walls." Our next woodcut gives a very cl illustration of one of these machines, which has been moved on its whe



The Cat. (Royal, 16 G VI.)

up to the outer wall of a castle, a beneath its protection a party men-at-arms are energetically ply their miner's tools, to pick away foundation, and so allow a port of the wall to settle down and le an entrance. The methods in wh this mode of attack was met w various. We all remember Border heroine, who, when castle was thus attacked, decla she would make the sow farrow, by casting down a huge fragmen stone upon it. That this was way of defence is shown in woodcut, where one of the defend with energetic action, is cas down a huge stone upon the s That the roof was made str enough to resist such a natural means of offence is shown by the sto which are represented as lodged all along it. Another more su counteraction, shown in the woodcut, was to pour boiling water or boi oil upon it, that it might fall through the interstices of the roof, and m the interior untenable. No doubt means were taken to make the liquid-tight, for the illustration represents another mode of counter-ac

which we have met with no other suggestion), by driving sharp-pointed es into the roof, so as to make holes and cracks through which the boil liquid might find an entrance. If these means of counteracting the rk of the cat seemed likely to be unavailing, it still remained to throw an inner line of wall, which, when the breach was made, should extend m one side to the other of the unbroken wall, and so complete the cir- nvallation. This, we have evidence, was sometimes done with timber l planks, and a sort of scaffolding was erected on the inner side, which intained the communication along the top of the walls, and enabled the diers to man the top of this wooden wall and offer a new resistance to besiegers as they poured into the breach. The mine was also, in cient as in modern times, met by a counter-mine.

Another usual machine for facilitating the siege of fortified places was a vable tower. Such an engine was commonly prepared beforehand, and en to pieces and transported with the army as a normal part of the siege- n. When arrived at the scene of operations, it was put together at a tance, and then pushed forward on wheels, until it confronted the walls he place against which it was to operate. It was intended to put the iegers on a level and equality with the besieged. From the roof the ilants could command the battlements and the interior of the place, by their archers could annoy the defence. A movable part of the front he tower suddenly let fall upon the opposite battlements, at once opened oor and formed a bridge, by which the besiegers could make a rush n the walls and effect a lodgment if successful, or retreat if unsuccessful heir own party.

uch a tower was constructed by Richard I. in Cyprus, as part of his paration for his Crusade. An illustration of a tower thus opposed to a le—not a very good illustration—is to be found in the Royal MS., G. VI., at folio 278 v. Another, a great square tower, just level with opposing battlements, with a kind of sloping roof to ward off missiles, own in the MS. *Chroniques d'Angleterres* (Royal 16, E. IV.), which was minated for Edward IV. Again, at f. 201 of the same MS., is another esentation of wooden towers opposed to a city.

the besieged could form a probable conjecture as to the point of the

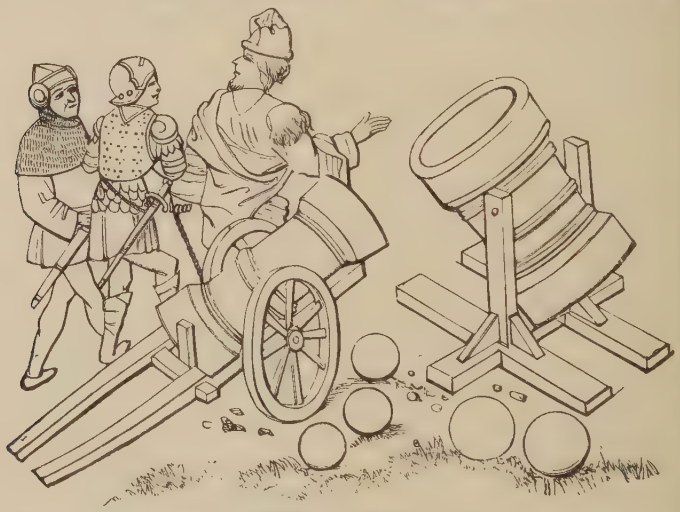
walls towards which the movable tower, whose threatening height they gradually growing at a bow-shot from their walls, would be ultimatel rected, they sometimes sent out under cover of night and dug pitfalls, which, as its huge bulk was rolled creaking forward, its fore wheels m suddenly sink, and so the machine fall forward, and remain fixed and less. As it approached, they also tried to set it on fire by missiles tip with combustibles. If it fairly attained its position, they assailed every and crevice in it with arrows and crossbow bolts, and planted a st body of men-at-arms on the walls opposite to it, and in the neighbou towers, to repel the "boarders" in personal combat. A bold and e prising captain did not always wait for the approach of these engine assault, but would counter-work them as he best could from the shelt his walls. He would sometimes lower the drawbridge, and make a su sally upon the unfinished tower or the advancing sow, beat off the ha of men who were engaged about it, pile up the fragments and chips about, pour a few pots of oil or tar over the mass, and set fire to it return in triumph to watch from his battlements how his fiery ally w in half an hour, destroy his enemy's work of half a month. In the fourteenth century MS. Add. 10,294, at fol. 740, we have a small pi of a fight before a castle or town, in which we see a column of men-at crossing the drawbridge on such an expedition. And again, in the in which Hans Burgmaier immortalised the events of the reign c Emperor Maximilian, a very artistic representation of a body of m arms, with their long lances, crowding through the picturesque gate anc the drawbridge, brings such an incident vividly before us.

The besiegers on their part did not neglect to avail themselves of shelter as they could find or make from the shot and from the sallies enemy, so as to equalise as much as practicable the conditions of the test. The archers of the castle found shelter behind the merlons battlements, and had the windows from which they shot screene movable shutters; as may be seen in the next woodcut of the a on a castle. It would have put the archers of the assailants great disadvantage if they had had to stand out in the open space, ex defenceless to the aim of the foe; all neighbouring trees which coul

nelter were, of course, cut down, in order to reduce them to this defence-ss condition, and works were erected so as to command every possible oigne of vantage which the nooks and angles of the walls might have ïorded. But the archers of the besiegers sought to put themselves on ore equal terms with their opponents by using the *pavis* or *mantelet*. The avis was a tall shield, curved so as partly to envelop the person of the earer, broad at the top and pering to the feet. We some-nes see cross-bowmen carrying slung at their backs (as in arl. 4,379, and Julius E. IV., 219, engraved on p. 294), so at after discharging a shot they uld turn round and be shel-red by the great shield while ey wound up their instrument another shot. Sometimes this ield seems to have been simply ree planks of wood nailed to-ther, which stood upright on e ground, and protected the ldier effectively on three sides. here are illustrations of it in e MS. Royal 20 C vii. (temp. ch. II.), at f. 19, f. 24 v., and 29 v., and in the MS. Harl. 382, f. 133 v. and f. 154 v. he mantelet was a shield still ore ample, and capable of being ed upright by a prop, so that formed a kind of little movable fort which the bowman, or man-at-arms, uld carry out and plant before the walls, and thence discharge his issiles, or pursue any other operation, in comparative safety from the aller artillery of the enemy. The most interesting example which we

Use of the Pavis, etc.

have met of the employment of the pavis and mantelet, is in a picture in
Harl. MS. 4,425, at f. 133. The woodcut on the previous page represe
only a portion of the picture, the whole of which is well worth study. T
reader will see at once that we have here the work of a draughtsman of
superior skill to that of the limners of the rude illuminations which we ha
previously given. The background really gives us some adequate idea
the appearance of an Edwardian castle with its barbican and drawbrid
its great tower with the heads of the defenders just peeping over
battlements. We must call attention to the right-hand figure in



Cannon and Mortar.

foreground, who is clad in a *pourpoint*, one of the quilted armours wh
we have formerly described, because it is the best illustration of this spe
of armour we have met with. But the special point for which we give
woodcut here, is to illustrate the use of the mantelet. It will be see
though somewhat imperfectly, from the fragment of the engraving in
duced—that these defences have been brought up to the front of
attacking party in such numbers as to form an almost continuous w
behind which the men-at-arms are sheltered; on the right are great fl
mantelets, with a hole in the middle of each, through which the muzzle

gun is thrust; while the cannoniers work their guns as behind the walls of a fort.

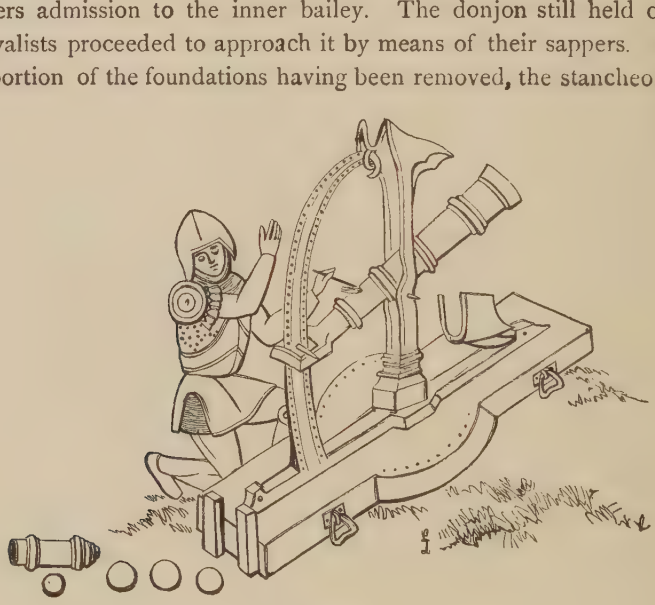
Similar movable defences, variously constructed, continued to be used down to a very late period. For example, in some large plans of the array of the army of Henry VIII., preserved in the British Museum (Cottonian MS., Augustus III., f. 1 v.), the cannon are flanked by huge mantelets of timber, which protect the cannoniers. In the one engraved between pp. 454 and 455, we see a representation of the commencement of the battle, showing some of the mantelets overthrown by the assault of soldiers armed with poleaxes. In modern warfare the sharpshooter runs out into the open, carrying a sand-bag by way of pavis, behind which he lies and picks off the enemy, and the artillery throw up a little breastwork, or mantelet, of sand-bags.

Sometimes the besieging army protected itself by works of a still more permanent kind. It threw up embankments with a pallisade at top, or sometimes constructed a breastwork, or erected a fort, of timber. For example, in the Royal MS. 14 E. IV., at f. 14, we have a picture of an assault upon a fortified place, in which the besiegers have strengthened their position by a timber breastwork. It is engraved at p. 443; the whole picture is well worth study. Again, in the Cottonian MS., Augustus V., at folio 266, is a camp with a wooden fence round it.

An army in the field often protected its position in a similar way. So far back as the eleventh century the historians tell us that William the Conqueror brought over a timber fort with him to aid his operations. The plan of surrounding the camp with the waggons and baggage of the army is perhaps one of the most primitive devices of warfare, and we find it used down to the end of the period which is under our consideration. In the MS. already mentioned, Augustus III., on the reverse of folio 4, is a picture of an army of the time of Henry VIII. encamped by a river, and enclosed on the open sides by the baggage, and by flat-bottomed boats on their carriages, which we suppose have been provided for the passage of the stream.

The siege of Bedford Castle, as described by Roger Wendover, in the year 1224, gives a good historical instance of the employment of these various modes of attacking a stronghold at that period. The castle was

being held against the king, who invested it in person. Two towers o wood were raised against the walls, and filled with archers; seven man gonels cast ponderous stones from morning to night; sappers approache the walls under the cover of the cat. First the barbican, then the outé bailey was taken. A breach in the second wall soon after gave th besiegers admission to the inner bailey. The donjon still held out, an the royalists proceeded to approach it by means of their sappers. A suff cient portion of the foundations having been removed, the stancheons wer



Cannon.

set on fire, one of the angles sank deep into the ground, and a wide re laid open the interior of the keep. The garrison now planted the roy standard on the walls, and sent the women to implore mercy. But severe example was made of the defenders, in order to strike terror amo the disaffected in other parts of the realm.*

Among the occasional warlike contrivances, stinkpots were employed repel the enemy, and the Greek fire was also occasionally used. A r presentation of the use of stinkpots, and also of the mode of using th

* Hewitt's "Ancient Armour," i. 361.

Greek fire, may be seen in the Royal MS. 18 E. V., at f. 207 (date 1473 A.D).

Those more terrible engines of war which ultimately revolutionised the whole art of warfare, which made the knight's armour useless, and the trebuchet and arbalest the huge toys of an unscientific age, were already introduced; though they were yet themselves so immature, that for a time military men disputed whether the old long bow or the new fire-arm was the better weapon, and the trebuchet still held its place beside the cannon. In the old illuminations we find mediæval armour and fire-arms together in incongruous conjunction. The subject of the use of gunpowder is one of so much interest, that it deserves to be treated in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

ARMOUR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IN former papers we have seen the characteristic feature of t armour of Saxon, Norman, and Early English times, down the latter part of the thirteenth century, was that of mail armc —*i.e.* composed of rings sewn upon garments of something like the ordina shape—tunic, hose, and hood—or linked together into the shape of su garments. The fourteenth century was a period of transition from m armour to plate. First it was found convenient to protect the elbow a knee with conical caps made out of a plate of steel; then the upper a and fore arm, the thigh and leg, were encased in separate pieces of armc made to fit to the limbs; in place of the old helmet worn over the m hood, a globular bascinet of plate was used, with a fringe of mail attach to it, falling over the shoulders; in place of the hauberk of mail, a globu plate to protect the breast, and another the back, connected at the sid with a deep skirt of mail attached to them, falling over the hips. In old days of mail armour a flowing surcoat was worn over it, to protec from wet, dust, and the heat of the sun; in the fourteenth century body-armour was covered with a close-fitting jupon of rich material a colour, embroidered with the arms of the wearer, and girded by a r enamelled horizontal belt.

The characteristic of the armour of the fifteenth century was that consisted of a complete suit of plate; the fringe of the bascinet be replaced by a gorget of plate, the skirt of mail by horizontal over-lapp plates; and for some time no covering was worn over the armour, but knightly vanity of the time delighted in the glittering splendour of

burnished steel. Later in the century, however, mail came again into considerable use, in short sleeves for the protection of the upper arm, and in skirts, which were doubtless found more convenient to the horseman than the solid plates of overlapping steel. It also seems to have been found practically inconvenient to dispense with some textile covering over the armour; and a considerable variety of such coverings was used, according to the caprice of the wearer. Numerous diversified experiments in the construction of armour were tried, and we commonly find in pictures of the time a great variety of fashions, both of armour and weapons, brought together in the same troop of warriors. It is a matter of interest to the antiquary to trace out the rise of all these various fashions and to determine when they went out of fashion again; but for our present purpose it is enough to point out the salient features of the military costume of the century, and, as varieties are brought before us in the illustrations from ancient MSS. which we proceed to introduce to our readers, to point out their meaning and interest. Let us begin, then, with a picture which will afford us, in the left-hand figure, a typical illustration of the complete plate-armour of the century, and proceed to describe the various pieces of which it is composed. His head is protected by a bascinet of steel, without visor to protect the face, though the picture represents him as actually engaged in the thick of a battle; but the steel gorget is brought up so as to protect the lower part of the face. It is not unfrequent to find the knights of this period with the face similarly exposed. Probably the heat and the difficulty of breathing caused by the visor were considered to outweigh the additional safety which it afforded. The neck is protected by a gorget of plate; and instead of the globular breastplate and skirt of mail worn under the gay jupon of the fourteenth century, the body is cased in two pairs of plates, which open with hinges at the sides, the lower plates coming to a point at the back and breast. In this illustration the whole suit of armour presents an unrelieved surface of burnished steel, the outlines of the various pieces of armour being marked by a narrow line of gold. But it was very usual for one of the two breastplates to be covered with silk or velvet embroidered. This will be seen in the armour of the archer from the same picture, in which the upper plate is covered with

blue, powdered with gold spots arranged in trefoils. So in the woodcut o p. 399 the upper breastplate of the knight nearest to the spectator is bl with gold spots, while in the further knight the upper plate is red. Tur ing again to the knight before us, his shoulders are protected by pa drons. These portions of the armour differ much in different example they were often ridged, so as to prevent a blow from glancing off the neck, and sometimes they have a kind of standing collar to prote the neck from a direct stroke. Sometimes the pauldron of the le

Man-at-Arms and Archer of the Fifteenth Century.

shoulder is elaborately enlarged and strengthened to resist a blow, wh the right shoulder is more simply and lightly armed, so as to offer as lit hindrance as possible to the action of the sword arm. The upper arm protected by brassarts, and the fore arm by vambraces, the elbows coudières, while the gussets at the armpit and elbow are further guard by roundels of plate. It will be seen that the gauntlets are not divided i fingers, but three or four plates are attached, like the plates of a lobst to the outside of a leathern gauntlet, to protect the hand without in

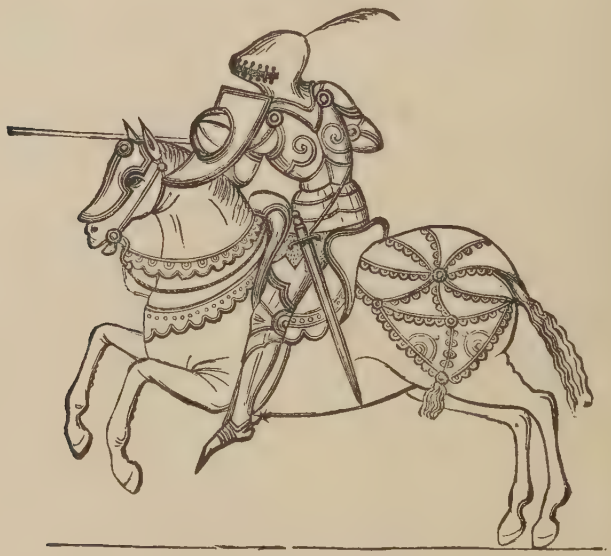
fering with the tenacity of its grasp of the weapon. The lower part of the body is protected by a series of overlapping plates, called taces. In most of the examples which we give of this period, the taces have a mail skirt or fringe attached to the lowest plate. Sometimes the taces came lower down over the thighs and rendered any further defence unnecessary; sometimes, as in the example before us, separate plates, called tuilles, were attached by straps to the lowest tace, so as to protect the front of the thigh without interfering with the freedom of motion. The legs are cased in cuissarts and jambarts, and the knee protected by genouillières; and as the tuilles strengthen the defence of the thigh, the shin has an extra plate for its more efficient defence. The feet seem in this example to be simply clothed with shoes, like those of the archer, instead of being defended by pointed sollerets of overlapping plates, like those seen in our other illustrations.

It will be noticed that in place of the broad military belt of the fourteenth century, enriched with enamelled plates, the sword is now suspended by a narrow strap, which hangs diagonally across the body.

The knight is taken from a large picture in the MS. *Chroniques d'Angleterre* (Royal 14, E. IV., f. 192 v.), which represents a party of French routed by a body of Portuguese and English. In front of the knight lies his horse pierced with several arrows, and the dismounted rider is preparing to continue the combat on foot with his formidable axe. The archer is introduced from the same picture, to show the difference between his half armour and the complete panoply of the knight. In the archer's equipment the body is protected by plates of steel and a skirt of mail, the upper arm by a half-sleeve of mail, and the head by a visored helmet; but the rest of the body is unarmed.

Our next illustration is from a fine picture in the same MS. (at f. ccxv.), which represents how the Duke of Lancaster and his people attacked the forts that defended the harbour of Brest. The background represents a walled and moated town—Brest—with the sea and ships in the distance; on the left of the picture the camp of the duke, defended by cannon; and in the foreground a skirmish of knights. It is a curious illustration of the absence of rigid uniformity in the military equipment of

these times, that each suit of armour in this picture differs from ever other; so that this one picture supplies the artist with fourteen or fiftee different examples of military costume, all clearly delineated with a go geous effect of colouring. Some of these suits are sufficiently represente in others of our illustrations. We have again selected one which stand in contrast with all the rest from the absence of colour; most of the othe have the upper breastplate coloured, and the helmet unvisored, or wi the visor raised. This gives us a full suit of armour unrelieved by colou



Knight of the Fifteenth Century.

except in the helmet-feather, sword-belt, and sheath, which are all gi The unusual shape of the helmet will be noticed, and it will be seen th there is a skirt or fringe of mail below the taces. The horse is a gre with trappings of red and gold, his head protected by a steel plate. the cut on p 403 one of the horses will be found to have the neck al defended by overlapping plates of steel. The shape of the deep milita saddle is also well seen in this illustration.

The next woodcut is also only a part of a large picture which for

ıe frontispiece of the second book of the same MS. (f. lxii.). It epresents a sally of the garrison of Nantes on the English, who are esieging it. Like the preceding picture, it is full of interesting examples f different armours. Our illustration selects several of them. The knight earest to us has the upper plate of his breastplate covered with a blue overing powdered with gold spots, and riveted to the steel plate beneath by

Group of English Knights and French Men-at-Arms.

e two steel studs on the shoulder-blades. Between the series of narrow ces and the vandyked fringe of mail is a skirt of blue drapery, which per-ps partially hides the skirt of mail, allowing only its edge to appear. ıe gorget is also of mail; and the gusset of mail at the armpit is left very ible by the action of the arm. The further knight has his upper breast-ıte and skirt red. The horses are also contrasted in colour; the nearer rse is grey, with red and gold trappings; the further horse black, with

blue and gold trappings. The man-at-arms who lies prostrate under t horse-hoofs is one of the garrison, who has been pierced by the sp whose truncheon lies on the ground beside him. His equipment ma him out as a man of the same military grade as the archer on p. 3 though the axe which he wields indicates that he is a man-at-arms. body-armour is covered by a surcoat of blue, laced down the front; wears a gorget and skirt of mail. His feet, like those of the men on p. 3 seem not to be covered with armour, and his hands are undefended gloves.

The unarmed man on the left is one of the English party, in o nary civil costume, apparently only a spectator of the attack. His h are red, his long-pointed shoes brown, his short-skirted but long-slee gown is blue, worn over a vest of embroidered green and gold, whic seen at the sleeves and the neck; the cuffs are red, and he wears a g chain and gilded sword-belt and sheath, and carries a walking staff. contrast which he affords to the other figures adds interest and turesqueness to the group.

The illustration on the next page from the Royal MS., 18 E. V., f. 31 forms the frontispiece to a chapter of Roman History, and is a media representation of no less a personage than Julius Cæsar crossing Rubicon. The foremost figure is Cæsar. He is in a complete su plate-armour; over his armour he wears a very curious drapery li short tabard without sleeves; it is of a yellow brown colour, but of v material it is not possible to determine. There is great diversity in fashion of the surcoat worn over the armour at this time. One varie seen in the fallen man-at-arms in the preceding woodcut; and a sin surcoat, loosely fastened by three or four buttons down the front, ins of tightly laced all the way down, is not uncommon. In another pict a knight in full plate-armour wears a short gown, with hanging sleeve the ordinary civilian fashion, like that worn by the gentleman on the hand side of the preceding cut. Out of a whole troop of Roman sol who follow Cæsar, we have taken only two as sufficient for our purpo showing varieties of equipment. The first has the fore arm protected vambrace, but instead of pauldrons and brassarts the shoulders and

re protected by sleeves of mail. The taces also are short, with a deep kirt of mail below them. The head defence looks in the woodcut like ne of the felt hats that knights frequently wore when travelling, to relieve ie head of the weight of the helmet, which was borne behind by a squire; ut it is coloured blue, and seems to be of steel, with a white bandeau ound it. The reader will notice the "rest" in which the lance was laid

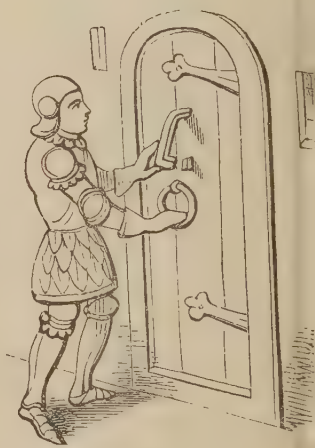
Julius Cæsar crossing the Rubicon.

steady it in the charge, screwed to the right breast of the breastplate; he i notice also the long-pointed solleret, the long neck of the spur, and the ngular stirrup, and the fashion of riding with a long stirrup, the foot ist home into the stirrup, and the toe pointed downwards. The third ire wears a gorget with a chin-piece, and a visored bascinet; the whole his body armour is covered by a handsome pourpoint, which is red,

powdered with gold spots; the pauldrons are of a different fashion from those of Cæsar, and the coudière is finished with a spike.

The next woodcut does less justice than usual to the artistic merit of the illumination from which it is taken. It is from a fine MS. of the Romance of the Rose (Harl. 4,925, folio cxxx. v.); the figures are allegorical. The great value of the painting is in the rounded form of the breastplates and helmets, and the play of light and shade, and variety

Allegorical Figures.



A Knight at the hall-door.

tint, upon them; the solid heavy folds of the mail skirts and sleeves are also admirably represented; and altogether the illuminations of this MS. give an unusually life-like idea of the actual pictorial effect of steel armour and the accompanying trappings. The arms and legs of these two figures are unarmed; those of the figure in the foreground are painted red, those of the other figure blue; the shield is red, with gold letters. The double mail skirts, with taces and tuilles, were in common wear at the close of the fifteenth century, and on into the sixteenth.

The little woodcut of a knight at the hall-door illustrates another variety f skirt; in place of taces and mail skirt, we have a skirt covered with verlapping plates, probably of horn or metal. This knight wears gloves f leather, undefended by armour.

The last illustration in this chapter is from the valuable MS. Life nd Acts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (Julius E. IV.), from hich we shall hereafter give some other more important subjects. The

The Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick.

esent is part of a fight before Calais, in which Philip Duke of Burgundy as concerned on one side, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Richard arl of Warwick, and Humphrey Earl of Stafford on the other. In the ckground of the picture is a view of Calais, with its houses, walls, and wers, washed by the sea. The two figures are taken from the foreground the battle-scene, which occupies the major part of the picture. The lmets, it will be seen, are iron hats with a wide rim which partially otects the face; they have a considerable amount of ornament about

them. Both warriors are armed in a single globular breastplate (th combination of two plates went out of fashion towards the end of th fifteenth century); one has short taces and a deep mail skirt, the oth has deeper taces and tuilles besides. The knight on the left side has h left shoulder protected by a pauldron, which covers the shoulder an partially overlaps the breastplate, and has a high collar to protect th neck and face from a sweeping horizontal blow. It will be seen th the sollerets have lost the long-pointed form, though they have not y reached the broad-toed shape which became fashionable with Henry VII The equipment of the horses deserves special examination. They a fully caparisoned, and armed on the face and neck, with plumes feathers and magnificent bridles; it will be seen, also, that the poi of the saddle comes up very high, and is rounded so as partly to enclo the thigh, and form a valuable additional defence. At a period a litt later, this was developed still further in the construction of the tilti saddles, so as to make them a very important part of the system defence.

How perfect the armour at length became may be judged from the fa that in many battles very few of the completely armed knights were kill —sometimes not one; their great danger was in getting unhorsed a ridden over and stifled in the press. Another danger to the unhors knight is pointed out in a graphic passage of the History of Phi de Comines, with which we will conclude this chapter. After one of t battles at which he was himself present, he says: "We had a gre number of stragglers and servants following us, all of which flock about the men-of-arms being overthrown, and slew the most of the For the greatest part of the said stragglers had their hatchets in th hands, wherewith they used to cut wood to make our lodgings, wi the which hatchets they brake the vizards of their head-pieces and th clave their heads; for otherwise they could hardly have been slain, th were so surely armed, so that there were ever three or four about one them."

It is not necessary to infer that these unfortunate men-at-arms who w thus cracked, as if they were huge crustaceans, were helpless from woun

or insensible from their fall. It was among the great disadvantages of plate-armour, that when a man was once in it he could not get out again without help; nay, he was sometimes so securely fastened in it that the aid must come in the shape of an armourer's tools; and the armour was sometimes so cumbrous that when he was once down he could not get up again—a castle of steel on his war-horse, a helpless log when overthrown.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KNIGHT'S EDUCATION.

THE manner of bringing up a youth of good family in the Mid Ages was not to send him to a public school and the universi nor to keep him at home under a private tutor, but to put h into the household of some nobleman or knight of reputation to be trai up in the principles and practices of chivalry.* First, as a page, he attend on the ladies of the household, and imbibed the first principles of t high-bred courtesy and transcendental devotion to the sex which characteristic of the knight. From the chaplain of the castle he gai such knowledge of book-learning as he was destined to acquire—wh was probably more extensive than is popularly supposed. He lea also to sing a romance, and accompany himself on the harp, from chief of the band of minstrels who wore his lord's livery. As a squire came under the more immediate supervision of his lord; was taught some experienced old knight or squire to back a horse and use his weapo and was stirred to emulation by constant practice with his fellow-squi He attended upon his lord in time of peace, carved his meat and filled cup, carried his shield or helmet on a journey, gave him a fresh lance in tournament, raised him up and remounted him when unhorsed, or drag him out of the press if wounded; followed him to battle, and acted as su tern officer of the troop of men-at-arms who followed their lord's banne

It is interesting to see how the pictures in the illuminated MSS. en us to follow the knight's history step by step. In the following woodcu

* For much curious detail on this subject see "The Babee's Book," published b Early English Text Society.

ee him as a child in long clothes, between the knight his father, and his dy mother, who sit on a bench with an embroidered *banker** thrown over s seat, making an interesting family group.

The woodcut on the next page shows us a group of pages imbibing nivalrous usages even in their childish sports, for they are "playing at usting." It is easy to see the nature of the toy. A slip of wood forms the undation, and represents the lists; the two wooden knights are movable n their horses by a pin through the hips and saddle; when pushed together mimic joust, either the spears miss, and the course must be run again, or ch strikes the other's breast, and one or other gives way at the shock, and forced back upon his horse's back, and is vanquished. This illustration

from Hans Burgmair's famous illustrations of the life of the Emperor axímilian. A similar illustration is given in Strutt's "Sports and Pas-mes." A third picture, engraved in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. ii. 173, represents a squire carving before his lord at a high feast, and ustrates a passage in Chaucer's description of his squire among the anterbury Pilgrims, which we here extract (with a few verbal alterations, make it more intelligible to modern ears) as a typical picture of a squire, en more full of life and interest than the pictorial illustrations:—

"With him ther was his son, a younge squire,
A lover and a lusty bacheler;

* A cover for a bench.

His lockes crull as they were laide in presse,
Of twenty yere of age he was I guess.
Of his stature he was of even lengthe,
And wonderly deliver, and grete of strengthe.
He hadde be some time in chevachie,
In Flanders, in Artois, and in Picardie,
And borne him wel, as of so litel space,
In hope to standen in his ladies grace.
Embroidered was he, as it were a mede
Alle ful of freshe flowres, white and rede.
Singing he was or floyting alle the day,
He was as freshe as is the moneth of May.

Short was his gowne, with sleves long and wide,
Wel coude he sitte on hors, and fayre ride.
He coude songes make, and wel endite,
Juste and eke dance, and wel poutraie and write.
So hot he loved that by nightertale
He slep no more than doth a nightingale.
Curteis he was, lowly and servisable,
And carf before his fader at the table."

Young noblemen and eldest sons of landed gentlemen were made kni
as a matter of course, when they had attained the proper age. Many o

won for themselves this chivalric distinction by their deeds of arms in the field, and sometimes in the lists. The ceremony was essentially a religious one, and the clergy used sometimes to make a knight. In the Royal 14. E. IV. f. 89, we see a picture of Lancelot being made a knight, in which an abbess even is giving him the accolade by a stroke of the hand. But usually, though religious ceremonies accompanied the initiation, and the office for making a knight still remains in the Roman Office Book, some knight of fame actually conferred "the high order of knighthood." It was not unusual for young men of property who were entitled to the honour by birth and heirship to be required by the king to assume it, for the sake of the fine which was paid to the crown on the occasion. Let us here introduce, as a pendant to Chaucer's portrait of the squire already given, his equally beautiful portrait of a knight; not a young knight-errant, indeed, but a grave and middle-aged warrior, who has seen hard service, and is valued in council as well as in field:—

"A knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That from the time that he firste began
To riden out, he loved chivalry,
Trouthe and honour, fredom and curtesie.
Ful worthie was he in his lorde's werre,
And thereto hadde he ridden, no man ferre,
As wel in Christendom as in Hethenesse,
And ever honoured for his worthinesse.
At Alesandre he was when it was wonne,
Ful oftentime he hadde the bord begonne,
Aboven all nations in Pruce.
* * * * * *
At many a noble army hadde he be,
At mortal batailles had he been fiftene,
And foughten for our faith in Tramisene
In listes thries, and ever slaine his fo.
* * * * * *
And tho that he was worthy he was wise,
And of his port as meke as is a mayde;
He never yet no vilanie had sayde
In alle his lif unto any manere wyht.
He was a very parfit gentle knight.
But for to tellen you of his arraie,
His hors was good, but he was not gaie;

Of fustian he wered a jupon,
All besmotred with his habergeon.
For he was late ycom fro his viage,
And wente for to don his pilgrimage."

Men who are in the constant habit of bearing arms are certain to engag in friendly contests with each other; it is the only mode in which they ca acquire skill in the use of their weapons, and it affords a manly pastim That such men should turn encounters with an enemy into trials of ski subject to certain rules of fairness and courtesy, though conducted wi sharp weapons and in deadly earnest, is also natural.* And thus we a introduced to a whole series of military exercises and encounters, from ti mere holiday pageant in which the swords are of parchment and the spea headless, to the wager of battle, in which the combatants are clad in line while their weapons are such as will lop off a limb, and the gallows awa the vanquished.

Homer shows us how the Greek battles were little else than a series single combats, and Roman history furnishes us with sufficient examp

* In illustration of the way in which actual warfare was sometimes treated as if it w a chivalrous trial of skill, take the following anecdote from Froissart; on the occas when the French had bribed Amery de Puy, the governor, to betray Calais, and fell i the ambush which Edward III. set for them, and the king himself fought under the ban of Sir Walter Murray:—"The Kyng lyht on the Lord Eustace of Rybemount, who was a strong and a hardy knyht; there was a long fyht bytwene hym and the kyng tha was joy to beholde them. . . . . The knight strake the kyng the same day two tymes his knees; but finally the kynge himself toke hym prisoner, and so he yelded his sw to the kyng and sayd, Sir Knyght, I yeled me as your prisoner, he knewe not as t that it was the kyng." In the evening the king gave a supper in the castle, at wh the French prisoners sat as guests; and, "when supper was done and the tables away, the kyng taryed styll in the hall with his knyghtes and with the Frenchmen, he was bare-heeded, savyng a chapelet of fyne perles that he ware on his heed. T the kyng went fro one to another of the Frenchmen. . . . . Than the kyng come to Eustace of Rybamont, and joyously to hym he said, 'Sir Eustace, ye are the knyh the worlde that I have sene moost valyant assayle his ennemyes and defende hymselfe I never founde knyght that ever gave me so moche ado, body to bo ly, as ye have this day; wherefore I give you the price above all the knyghtes of my court by ryht sente Then the kyng took the chapelet that was upon his heed, ieying bothe faire, goodly ryche, and sayd, 'Sir Eustace, I gyve you this chapelet for the best doar in armes in journey past of either party, and I desire you to bere it this yere for the love of me whersoever ye come that I dyd give it you; and I quyte you your prison and ransom ye shall depart to-morowe if it please you.'"

f such combats preluding the serious movements of opposing armies, and fording an augury, it was believed, of their issue. Sacred history supplies s with examples of a similar kind. In the story of Goliath we have the ombat of two champions in the face of the hosts drawn up in battle array. still more striking incident is that where Abner and the servants of shbosheth, and Joab and the servants of David, met accidentally at the ool of Gibeon. "And they sat down the one on the one side of the pool, nd the other on the other. And Abner said to Joab, Let the young men ow arise and play before us. And Joab said, Let them arise." So elve men on each side met, "and they caught every one his fellow by e head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side, so they fell down gether." And afterwards the lookers-on took to their arms, and "there as a very sore battle that day; and Abner was beaten, and the men of rael, before the servants of David."*

Our own history contains incidents enough of the same kind, from ilefer the minstrel-warrior, who rode ahead of the army of Duke William Hastings, singing the song of Roland and performing feats of dexterity the use of horse and weapons, and then charging alone into the ranks of e Saxon men, down to the last young aide-de-camp who has pranced up the muzzle of the guns to "show the way" to a regiment to which he d brought an order to carry a battery.

In the Middle Ages these combats, whether they were mere pageants † sportive contests with more or less of the element of danger, or were ged in deadly earnest, were, in one shape or other, of very common currence, and were reduced to system and regulated by legislation.

When only two combatants contended, it was called jousting. If only a ndly trial of skill was contemplated, the lances were headed with a small ronal instead of a sharp point; if the sword were used at all it was with

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* 2 Samuel ii.

† Such as that which took place at Windsor Park in the sixth year of Edward I., for ch, according to a document in the Record Office at the Tower (printed in the rchæologia," vol. xvii. p. 297), it appears that the knights were armed in a tunic surcoat, a helmet of leather gilt or silvered, with crests of parchment, a wooden ld, and a sword of parchment, silvered and strengthened with whalebone, with ed hilts.

the edge only, which would very likely inflict no wound at all on a armed man, or at most only a flesh wound, not with the point, which m penetrate the opening of the helmet or the joints of the armour, and i a fatal hurt. This was the *joute à plaisance.* If the combatants allowed to use sharp weapons, and to put forth all their force and against one another, this was the *joute à l'outrance*, and was of com enough occurrence.

When many combatants fought on each side, it was called a tournai Such sports were sometimes played in gorgeous costumes, but with wea of lath, to make a spectacle in honour of a festal occasion. Some the tournament was with bated weapons, but was a serious trial of and strength. And sometimes the tournament was even a mimic b and then usually between the adherents of hostile factions which s thus to gratify their mutual hatreds, or it was a chivalrous incident in between two nations.

With these general introductory remarks, we shall best fulfil our pu by at once proceeding to bring together a few illustrations from ar sources, literary and pictorial, of these warlike scenes.

A MS. in the Egerton Collection, in the British Museum, gives contemporary account of the mode in which it was made known to k ambitious of honour and their ladies' praise when and where opportu of winning them were to be found. The heralds-at-arms of the ki lord, or noble, or knight, or lady who designed to give a joust, went fo horseback to castle and town, and sometimes from court to court of f countries, clad in their gay insignia of office, attended by a trum and in every castle court they came to, and at every market cross, fi trumpeter blew his blast and then the herald-at-arms made his proclan as follows :—"Wee herawldes of armes beryng shields of devise, h yeve in knowledge unto all gentilmen of name and of armys, that the VI gentilmen of name and of armes that for the gret desire and wo that the seide VI gentilmen have, have taken upon them to bee th day of May next coomyng before the high and mighty redowtid lady gentilwoomen in this high and most honourable court. And i presence the seide six gentilmen there to appear at IX of the clock

one, and to juste aginst all coomers without, the seide day unto VI of e clok at aftir noone, and then, by the advyse of the seide ladyes and ntel women, to give unto the best juster withoute * a dyamaunde of xl^li^, d unto the nexte beste juster a rubie of xx^li^, and to the third well juster aufir of x^li^. And on the seide day there beyng officers of armys shewyng eir mesure of theire speris garneste, that is, cornal, vamplate, and grapers of acise, that they shall just with. And that the comers may take the gth of the seide speirs with the avise of the seide officers of armes that ll be indifferent unto all parties unto the seide day." †

Then we have a description of the habiliments required for a knight's uipment for such an occasion, which includes a suit of armour and a rse with his trappings; an armourer with hammer and pincers to fasten armour; two servants on horseback well beseen, who are his two uires; and six servants on foot all in one suit.

As the day approaches knights and ladies begin to flock in from all nts of the compass. Some are lodged in the castle, some find chambers the neighbouring town, and some bring tents with them and pitch them der the trees in the meadows without the castle. At length the day has ived, and the knights are up with sunrise and bathe, and then are care- y armed by their squires and armourers. This is so important a matter t it is no wonder we find several minute descriptions of the way in ich every article of clothing and armour is to be put on and fastened, strated with pictures of the knight in the several stages of the process. o such descriptions with engravings are given in the twenty-ninth volume he "Archæologia," taken from the work of a master of fence, of date 1400. other description, "How a man shall be armyed at his ease when he ll fight on foot," is given in the Lansdowne MS. under our notice. The ne description is given in the tenth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, 226, from a MS. in the possession of Lord Hastings of the date of nry VI., accompanied by an engraving from an illumination in the MS. wing the knight with his legs fully armed, his body clothed in the under-

i.e., of the strangers. The challengers are afterwards called the gentlemen within. For other forms of challenge, and some very romantic challenges at full length, see Lansdowne MS. 285.

Preliminaries of a Combat.

arment on which the gussets of mail are sewed, while the rest of his rmour and his weapons are arranged on a bench beside him. The eapons are a glaive and a pole-axe, which were the usual weapons signed to the combatants in serious duels on foot. When all is ready, d the company are assembled, the MS. tells us what next takes place:— The VI gentilmen must come into the felde unharnsyd, and their helmys rne before them, and their servants on horseback berying either of them spere garneste, that is the VI speres which the seide VI servaunts shall le before them into the felde, and as the seide VI gentilmen be coomyn fore the ladyes and gentilwoomen. Then shall be sent an herowde or mys up unto the ladyes and gentilwoomen, saying on this wise: High d mighty, redowtyd, and right worchyfull ladyes and gentilwoomen, eis VI gentilmen hav coome into your presence and recommende them unto your gode grace in as lowly wise as they can, besechyng you for geve unto the iii best justers without a diamonde, and a rubie, and a ıfir unto them that ye think best can deserve it. Then this message is one. Then the VI gentilmen goth into the tellwys* and doth on their mys."

Then comes the jousting. Probably, first of all, each of the six ımpions in turn runs one or more courses with a stranger knight; then, haps, they finish by a miniature tournament, all six together against six the strangers. Each strange knight who comes into the field has to isfy the officer-at-arms that he is a "gentilman of name and of arms," l to take oath that he has no secret weapons or unfair advantage. The odcut represents this moment of the story. This being ascertained, they e their places at the opposite ends of the lists, the presiding herald cries et go, and they hurl together in the midst, with a clang of armour, and rash of broken spears, amidst the shouts of the spectators and the ing of kerchiefs and caps. If the course be successfully run, each aks his lance full on the breastplate or helm of his adversary, but neither nhorsed; they recover their steeds with rein and spur, and prance away

* Probably the tilt-house (the shed or tent which they have in the field at one end of ists).

amidst applause. If one knight is unhorsed, or loose his stirrup, he vanquished, and retires from the game. If the jousting were not the m sport which the MS. puts before us, but were a *joute à l'outrance*, the n woodcut represents a very probable variation in this point of the game.

At length, when all have run their courses, the MS. resumes its di tions: "And when the heraldes cry *à lóstel ! à lóstel !* then shall all

Spectators of a Tournament.

VI. gentlemen within unhelme them before the seide ladies, and make t obeisaunce, and goo home unto their lodgings and change them." T continues the MS.: "The gentilmen* without comyn into the presen the ladies. Then comys foorth a lady by the advise of all the ladyes gentilwomen, and gives the diamounde unto the best juster withoute, sa

* The Lansdowne MS. says "gentlewomen," an obvious error; it is correctly as above in the Hastings MS.

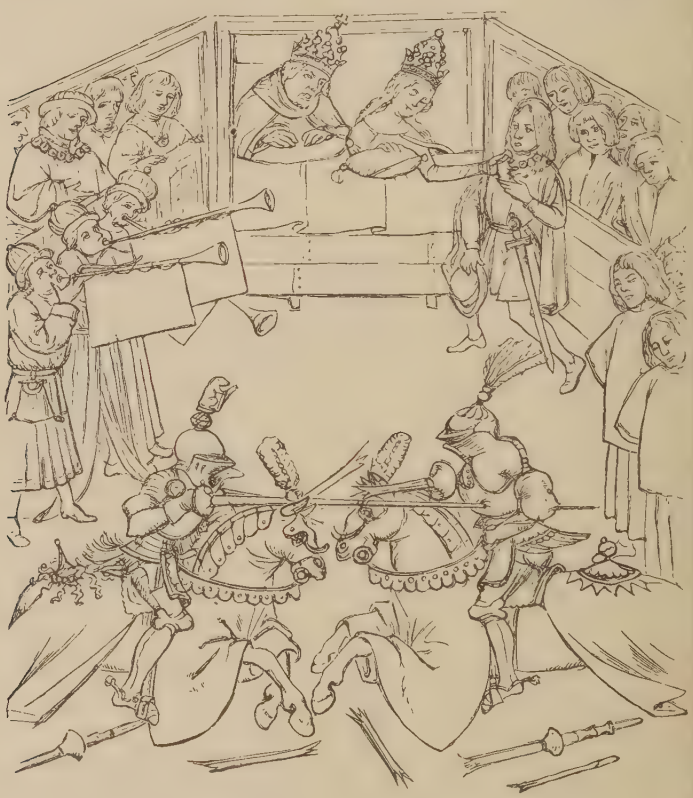
n this wise :—'Sir, theis ladyes and gentilwomen thank you for your isporte and grete labour that ye have this day in their presence. And ne saide ladyes and gentilwomen seyn that ye have best just this day; nerefore the seide ladyes and gentilwomen geven you this diamounde, and end you much joy and worship of your lady.' Thus shall be doone with ne rubie and with the saufre unto the other two next the best justers. This doon, then shall the heralde of armys stande up all on hygh, and shall ey withall in high voice :—'John hath well justed, Ric. hath justed better, nd Thomas hath justed best of all.' Then shall he that the diamound is eve unto take a lady by the hande and bygene the daunce, and when the adyes have dauncid as long as them liketh, then spyce wyne and drynk, nd then avoide."*

The last woodcut, greatly reduced from one of the fine tournament cenes in the MS. history of the Roi Meliadus, already several times quoted n this work, shows the temporary gallery erected for the convenience of the adies and other spectators to witness the sports. The tent of one of the nights is seen in the background, and an indication of the hurly-burly of ne combat below. A larger illustration of a similar scene from this fine MS. will be given hereafter.

The next woodcut is from the MS. Life and Acts of Richard Beauchamp, arl of Warwick (Julius E. IV., folio 217). It represents "howe a mighty Duke chalenged Erle Richard for his lady sake, and in justyng slewe the Duke and then the Empresse toke the Erle's staff and bear from a knight houldre, and for great love and fauv^r she sette it on her shouldre. Then rle Richard made one of perle and p'cious stones, and offered her that, nd she gladly and lovynglee reseaved it." The picture shows the Duke nd Earl in the crisis of the battle. It would seem from the pieces of olintered spears, which already lie on the ground, that a previous course ad been run with equal fortune; but in this second course the doughty arl has just driven his lance half a yard through his unfortunate chal-

* Dugdale, in his "History of Warwickshire," gives a curious series of pictures of the mous combat between John Astle and Piers de Massie in the year 1438, showing the rious inci'ents of the combat.

lenger's breast. In the background we see the Emperor Sigismund, the Empress taking the Earl's badge from the neck of the Earl's kni The whole incident, so briefly told and so naïvely illustrated, is characteristic of the spirit of chivalry. As we close the page the



How a mighty Duke fought Earl Richard for his Lady's sake.

nameless Duke's life-blood seems to be smeared, not only over his magnificent armour, but over the hand of the Empress and the Empe purple who presided over the scene; and while we seem to hear the faronade with which the trumpeters are cracking their cheeks, we

mingling with it the groan of the mighty Duke thus slain "for his lady ake."

A whole chapter might be well dedicated to the special subject of udicial combats. We must, however, content ourselves with referring the eader to authorities both literary and artistic, and to some anecdotes illus- rative of the subject. In the Lansdowne MS. 285, copied for Sir John Paxton, will be found directions for the complete arming of a man who is o engage on foot in a judicial combat, with a list of the things, such as ent, table, chair, &c., which he should take into the field with him. The ame MS. contains (article 8) the laws of the combat—"the ordinance nd forme of fighting within listes," as settled by Thomas Duke of Gloucester, Constable of England, in the time of Richard II. Also in Tiberius E. VIII. there are directions for making a duel before the king. There are other similar documents in the same book, *e.g.* Of the order of nighthood, justs and prizes to be given thereat: The Earl of Worcester's rders for jousts and triumphs: Declaration of a combat within lists. The MS. Tiberius B. VIII. contains the form of benediction of a man about to ght, and of his shield, club, and sword. For a picture of a combat on foot lists see Royal 16 E. IV. (MS. "Chronique d'Angleterre," written for ing Edward IV.) at f. 264.* In the "Archæologia," vol. xxix., p. 348-361, ill be found a paper on Judicial Duels in Germany, with a series of rious drawings of about the year 1400 A.D., representing the various ases of the combat. Plate 31, fig. 5, shows the combatant in the act of ing armed; fig. 6, receiving Holy Communion in church before the mbat. Plate 32, fig. 2, the oath in the lists, the combatant seated armed an arm-chair with his attendants about him, his weapons around, and—minously enough—a bier standing by, covered with a pall, ready to carry m off the ground if slain. Plate 34, fig. 2, shows the vanquished actually ing laid in his coffin; and fig. 3 shows the victor returning thanks in urch for his victory. Plate 37 is another series of subjects showing the

* The Harleian MS. No. 69, is a book of certain triumphs, containing proclamations tournaments, statutes of arms for their regulation, and numerous other documents ting to the subject. From folio 20 and onwards are given pictures of combats; folio v. represents spear-play at the barriers; folio 23, sword-play at the barriers, &c.

different positions of attack and defence with the pole-axe. Several good and spirited representations of these duels of the time of Henry VIII. may be found in the plates of Hans Burgmaier's Der W Könige.

As an example of the wager of battle we will take an account of related by Froissart between a squire called Jaques de Grys and a kn Sir John of Carougne. It is necessary to the understanding of some of incidents of the narrative to state what was the origin of the duel. knight and the squire were friends, both of the household of the Ea Alençon. Sir John de Carougne went over sea for the advancemen his honour, leaving his lady in his castle. On his return his lady infor him that one day soon after his departure his friend Jaques de Grys a visit to her, and made excuses to be alone with her, and then by dishonoured her. The knight called his and her friends together asked their counsel what he should do. They advised that he should his complaint to the Earl. The Earl called the parties before him, the lady repeated her accusation; but the squire denied it, and witnesses to prove that at four o'clock on the morning of the day on the offence was stated to have been committed he was at his lor Earl's house, while the Earl himself testified that at nine o'clock h with himself at his levée. It was impossible for him between thos hours—that is, four hours and a half—to have ridden twenty-three lea "Whereupon the Erl sayd to the lady that she dyd but dreame it, v fore he wolde maynteyne his squyre, and commanded the lady to noe more of the matter. But the knyght, who was of great courage well trusted and byleved his wife, would not agree to that opinio he wente to Parys and shewed the matter there to the parlyamen there appeled Jaques de Grys, who appered and answered to his ap The plea between them endured more than a year and a half. At "the parlyament determined that there shold be batayle at utt between them. . . . And the Kynge sent to Parys, commandyng the journey and batayle bytwene the squyer and the knight shol relonged tyl his comynge to Parys: and so his commaundemen obeyed. . . .

"Then the lystes were made in a place called Saynt Katheryne, behynde the Temple. There was so moche people that it was mervayle to beholde; and on the one syde of the lystes there was made grete scaffoldes, that the lordes myght the better se the battayle of the ij champions; and so they bothe came to the felde, armed at all places, and there eche of them was set in theyr chayre." *

"The Erle of Saynt Poule governed John of Carougne, and the Erle of Alanson's company with Jaques de Guys. And when the knyght entered into the felde, he came to his wyfe who was there syttinge in a chayre, covered in blacke, and he seyd to her thus,—Dame, by your enformacyon and in your quarele I do put my lyfe in adventure as to fyght with Jaques le Grys; ye knowe if the cause be just and true. Syr, sayd the lady, it is as I have sayd; wherfore ye may fyght surely, the cause is good and true. With those wordes the knyghte kyssed the lady and toke her by the hande, and then blessyd her, and so entered into the felde. The lady sate styll in the blacke chayre in her prayers to God and to the Vyrgyne Mary, humbly prayenge them, by theyr specyall grace, to sende her husbande the vyctory accordynge to the ryght he was in. The lady was in grete hevynes, for she was not sure of her lyfe; for yf her husbande sholde have been discomfyted she was judged without remedy to be brente and her husbande hanged. I cannot say whether she repented her or not yt the matter was so forwarde, that bothe she and her husbande were in grete peryle; howbeit fynally she must as then abyde the adventure. Then these two champyons were set one agaynst another, and so mounted on theyr horses and behaved them nobly, for they knew what pertayned to deades of armes. There were many lordes and knyghtes of France that were come thyder to se that batayle: ye two champyons parted at theyr first metyng, but none of them dyd hurte other; and upon the justes they lyghted on foote to performe their batayle, and soe fought valyauntly; and fyrst John of Carougne was hurt in the thyghe, whereby al his friendes were in grete fear; but after that he fought so valyauntly that he bette

* In the picture given by Dugdale of the combat between John Astle and Piers de Massie, the combatants are represented each sitting in his chair—a great carvad chair, something like the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey.

down his adversary to the erthe, and thruste his sworde in his body, a slew hym on the felde; and then he demaunded yf he had don devoyre or not; and they answered that he had valyauntly acheve batayle. Then Jaques le Grys was delyvered to the hangman of I and he drew him to the gybet of Mount Faucon and there hanged up. Then John of Carougne came before the Kynge and kneeled d and ye Kynge made hym to stand up before hym, and the same da kynge caused to be delyvered to hym a thousand frankes, and reteyne to be of his chambre with a pencyon of ij hundred poundes by the durynge the term of his lyfe; then he thanked the Kynge and the l and wente to his wyfe and kyssed her, and then they wente togyder churche of Our Lady in Parys, and made theyr offerynge and retourned to theyr lodgynges. Then this Syr John of Carougne t not long in France, but wente to vysyte the Holy Sepulture."

CHAPTER IX.

ON TOURNAMENTS.

THE romances, confirmed as they are by such documents as we have referred to in our last paper, may be taken as perfectly safe authorities on all that relates to the subject of tournaments, and they seize upon their salient features, and offer them in a picturesque form very suitable to our purpose. We will take all our illustrations, as in former chapters, from Malory's "History of Prince Arthur."

Here is a statement of the way in which a tournament was arranged and published: "So it befel, that Sir Galahalt the haughty Prince was lord of the country of Surluse, whereof came many good knights. And this noble prince was a passing good man of arms, and ever he held a noble fellowship together. And he came unto King Arthur's court, and told him all his intent, how he would let do cry a justs in the country of Surluse, the which country was within the lands of King Arthur, and that he asked leave for to let cry a justs. 'I will well give you leave,' said King Arthur, 'but wot you well that I may not be there.' So in every good town and castle of this land was made a cry, that in the country of Surluse Sir Galahalt the haughty prince should make justs that should last eight days, and how the haughty prince, with the help of Queen Guenever's knights, should just against all manner of men that would come. When the cry was known kings, princes, dukes, and earls, barons, and many noble knights made them ready to be at that justs."

So we read in another place how as Sir Tristram was riding through the country in search of adventures, "he met with pursevants, and they told him that there was made a great cry of a tournament between King

Carados of Scotland and the King of Northgales, and either shoul against other at the Castle of Maidens. And these pursevants sou the country for the good knights, and in especial King Carados le for Sir Launcelot, and the King of Northgales let seek for Sir Tris Then we find how all the reckless knights-errant suddenly become pr in order to keep themselves fresh and sound for this great tourna Thus: "Sir Kay required Sir Tristram to just; and Sir Tristram in a m refused him, because he would not go hurt nor bruised to the Ca Maidens; and therefore he thought to have kept him fresh and to rest But his prudence was not proof against provocation, for when Sir Ka sisted, he rode upon him and "smote down Sir Kay, and so rode way." So Sir Palomides said, "Sir, I am loth to do with that knight, a cause why for as to-morrow the great tournament shall be, and therefore keep me fresh, by my will." But being urged he consented: "Sir, I w at your request, and require that knight to just with me, and often seen a man have a fall at his own request;" a sage reflection whic prophetic. It was Sir Launcelot in disguise whom he was moved t encounter; and Sir Launcelot "smote him so mightily that he mad to avoid his saddle, and the stroke brake his shield and hawberk, an he not fallen he had been slain."

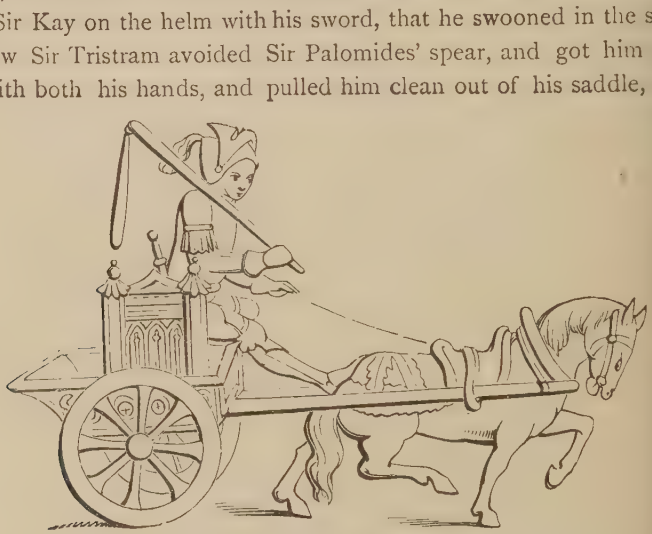
No doubt a great company would be gathered on the eve of the t ment, and there would be much feasting and merriment, and inquiry knights were come to just, and what prospects had this man and the of honour and lady's grace, or of shame and a fall. Here is s incident:—"Then Sir Palomides prayed Queen Guenever and Sir Ga the haughty prince to sup with him, and so did both Sir Launcel Sir Lamorake and many good knights; and in the midst of their sup came Sir Dinadan, and he began to rail. 'Well,' said Sir Dinadan u Launcelot, 'what the devil do you in this country, for here may no knights win no worship for thee; and I ensure thee that I shall never thee no more, nor thy great spear, for I may not sit in my saddle whe spear meet me; I shall beware of that boisterous spear that thou be Then laughed Queen Guenever and the haughty prince that they mig sit at table. Thus they made great joy till the morrow; and then they

mass, and blew to the field. And Queen Guenever and all their estates were set, and judges armed clean with their shields for to keep the right."

State Carriage of the Fourteenth Century.

It would take up too much space to transcribe the account of the tournament; the romancers and chroniclers dwell on every stroke, and prolong the narrative through page after page. We leave the reader to

imagine to himself the crowd of meaner knights "hurtling together like boars," and "lashing at each other with great strokes"; and can only te or two unusual deeds which caused most talk among the knights and l and supplied new matter for the heralds and minstrels to record. Sir Launcelot rushed against Sir Dinadan with the "boisterous spea had deprecated, and bore him back on his horse croup, that he lay as dead, and had to be lifted off by his squires; and how Sir Lam struck Sir Kay on the helm with his sword, that he swooned in the sa and how Sir Tristram avoided Sir Palomides' spear, and got him l neck with both his hands, and pulled him clean out of his saddle, a



Cabriolet of the Fourteenth Century.

bore him before him the length of ten spears, and then, in the prese them all, let him fall at his adventure; "until at last the haughty cried 'Hoo!' and then they blew to lodging, and every knight un him and went to the great feast." We may, however, quote one brie mary of a tournament which gives us several pictures worth adding story:—"Sir Launcelot mounted his horse and rode into a forest an no high way. And as he looked afore him he saw a fair plain, and that plain stood a fair castle, and before that castle were many pavili silk and of divers hue; and him seemed that he saw there five hu knights riding on horseback; and there was two parties; they tha

of the castle were all in black, their horses and their trappings black; and they that were without were all upon white horses with white trappours. And every each hurled to other, whereof Sir Launcelot marvelled greatly. And at the last him thought that they of the castle were put unto the worst; and then thought Sir Launcelot for to help the weaker part in increasing of his chivalry. And so Sir Launcelot thrust in among the parties of the castle, and smote down a knight, both horse and man, to the earth: and then he rushed here and there and did marvellous deeds of arms; but always the white knights held them nigh about Sir Launcelot, for to weary him and win him. And at the last, as a man may not ever endure, Sir Launcelot waxed so faint of fighting, and was so weary of great deeds, that he might not lift up his arms for to give one stroke."

Now for some extracts to illustrate the prize of the tournament: "Turn we unto Ewaine, which rode westward with his damsel, and she brought him there as was a tournament nigh the march of Wales. And at that tournament Sir Ewaine smote down thirty knights, wherefore the prize was given him, and the prize was a jerfawcon and a white steed trapped with a cloth of gold." Sir Marhaus was equally fortunate under similar circumstances:—"He departed, and within two days his damsel brought him to where as was a great tournament, that the Lady de Vaux had cried; and who that did best should have a rich circlet of gold worth a thousand besants. And then Sir Marhaus did so nobly that he was renowned to have smitten down forty knights, and so the circlet of gold was rewarded to him."

Again:—"There was cried in this country a great just three days. And all the knights of this country were there, and also the gentlewomen. And who that proved him the best knight should have a passing good sword and a circlet of gold, and the circlet the knight should give to the fairest lady that was at those justs. And this knight Sir Pelleas was the best knight that was there, and there were five hundred knights, but there was never man that Sir Pelleas met withal but that he struck him down or else from his horse. And every day of the three days he struck down twenty knights; therefore they gave him the prize. And forthwithal he went there as the Lady Ettarde was, and gave her the circlet, and said

A Tournament.

penly that she was the fairest lady that was there, and that he would rove upon any knight that would say nay."

The accompanying woodcut is a reduced copy of the half of one of the nany tournament scenes which run along the lower part of the double age of the MS. romance of "Le Roi Meliadus," already so often alluded o. They are, perhaps, the most spirited of all the contemporary pictures of uch scenes, and give every variety of incident, not out of the imagination f a modern novelist, but out of the memory of one who had frequented eeds of arms and noted their incidents with an artist's eye.

For an actual historical example of the tournament in which a number f knights challengers undertake to hold the field against all comers, we ill take the passage of arms at St. Inglebert's, near Calais, in the days of dward III., because it is very fully narrated by Froissart, and because ne splendid MS. of Froissart in the British Museum (Harl. 4,379) supplies s with a magnificent picture of the scene. Froissart tells that it hap-ened in this wise:—"In ye dayes of King Charles there was an Englisshe nyght called Sir Peter Courteney, a valyaunt knight in armes, came out f Englande into Fraunce to Paris, and demanded to do armes with Sir uy of Tremoyle * in the presence of the king or of suche as wolde se nem. Sir Guy wolde not refuce his offre, and in the presence of the kyng nd of other lordes they were armed on a daye and ran togeyder one ourse; and then the kyng wolde not suffre them to ryn agayne togeyther, herwith the English knyght was ryt evyl content, for, as he shewed, he olde have furnysshed his chalenge to the uttrance; but he was apeased ith fayre wordes, and it was sayde to hym that he had done ynough and ught to be content therewith. The kyng and the duke of Burgoyne ave hym fayre gyftes and presentes. Than he returned agayne towardes alays, and the lorde of Clary, who was a friscay and a lusty knyght, was harged to convey hym." One night they lodged at Lucen, where lived ne Countess of St. Paul, sister to King Richard of England, whose first ife had been a cousin of Sir Peter's, and who therefore received them adly. In the course of the evening the countess asked Sir Peter

* Tremouille.

whether he was content with the entertainment he had met with in Fra
Whereupon the knight complained of the interruption of his com
swore he should say wherever he went that he could find none in Fr
to do armes with him; that had a French knight, for example the Lor
Clary then present, come into England and desired to do armes, he w
have found enough to answer his challenge. The Lord of Clary ha
Sir Peter then placed under his safe conduct by the king, held his to
till he had brought him within the English territory about Calais; the
challenged Sir Peter, and next day they met. "Then they toke
speares with sharpe heades wel fyled, and spurred their horses and
togeyder. The fyrst course fayled, wherwith they were bothe sore
pleased. At the seconde juste they mette so togeyder, that the Lor
Clary struke the Englysshe knyght throughe the targe and throughe
shoulder a handfull, and therwith he fell from his horse to the erthe.
Then the Lord of Clary departed with his company, and the Englys
men led Sir Peter Courtney to Calays to be healed of his hurtes."

This incident stirred up several young French knights to under
some feat of arms. "There was thre gentylmen of highe enterprise
of great valure, and that they well shewed as ye shall here. Fyrst t
was the yonge Sir Bouciquaut, the other Sir Raynold of Roy, and
thirde the Lorde of Saynt Pye. These thre knyghtes were chamberl
with the kyng, and well-beloved of hym. These thre being at Mo
pellier among the ladyes and damosels, they toke on them to do arme
the fronter beside Calais the next somer after . . . abyding all knyg
and squiers straungers the terme of xxx dayes whosoever wolde juste
them in justes of peace or of warre. And because the enterprise of t
thre knyghtes seemed to the French kyng and his counsalye to b
high enterprice, then it was said to them that they shulde putte it
writyng, because the kyng wolde se the artycles thereof, that if they
to high or to outraygous that the kyng might amende them; bycause
kyng nor his counsalye wolde not sustayne any thynge that should
unresonable. These thre knyghtes answered and said, 'It is but r
that we do this; it shall be done.' Then they toke a clerk and ca
him to write as forthwith:—'For the great desyre that we have to c

the knowledge of noble gentlemen, knights and squires, straungers as ll of the realme of France, as elsewhere of farre countreys, we shall be Saynt Inglebertes, in the marches of Calays, the twenty day of the nth of May next commying, and there contynewe thirtye dayes com-te, the Frydayes onely excepte ; and to delyver all manner of knyghtes d squyers, gentlemen, straungers of any manner of nacyon whatsoever ey be, that wyll come thyder for the breakynge of fyve speares, outher arpe or rokettes at their pleasure,'" &c.

The challenge was "openly declared and publyshed, and especially in e realme of Englande," for it was in truth specially intended at English ights, and they alone appear to have accepted the challenge. "For in ngland knyghtes and squiers were quyckened to the mater, and ware in et imagynacions to know what they might best do. Some said it ulde be greatly to their blame and reproche such an enterprise taken so rc to Calays without they passed the see and loke on those knyghtes at shulde do arms there. Such as spake most of the mater was, first, r Johan of Holande Erle of Huntyngdon, who had great desyre to go yder, also Sir Johan Courtney . . . and dyvers others, more than a ndred knyghtes and squiers, all then sayed, 'Let us provyde to go to lays, for the knyghtes of Fraunce hath not ordayned that sporte so nere r marches but to the entent to see us there ; and surely they have done ll and do lyke good companions, and we shall not fayle them at their synes.' This mater was so publisshed abrode in Englande, that many ch as had no desyn to do dedes of armes ther on self, yet they sayd ey wolde be there to loke on them that shulde. So at the entryng in of joly fresshe month of May these thre young knyghtes of Fraunce come the Abbay of Saynt Ingilbertes, and they ordayned in a fayre playne tween Calays and Saynt Ingilbertes thre fresh grene pavilyons to be ght up, and at the entre of every pavylyon there hanged two sheldes th the armes of the knyghtes, one shelde of peace, another of warre ; d it was ordayned that such as shulde ryn and do dedes of armes shulde uche one of the sheldes or cause it to be touched. And on the xxi day the moneth of May, accordyng as it had been publisshed, there the ench knyghtes were redy in the place to furnish their enterprise. And

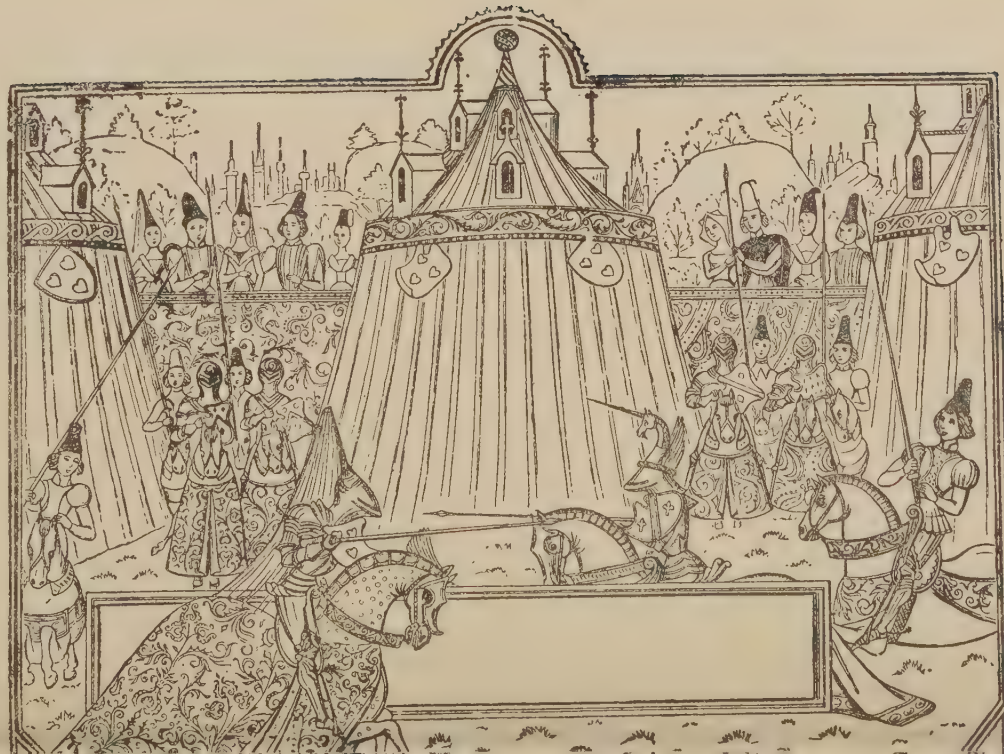
the same day knyghtes and squiers issued out of Calays, suche as wo just, and also such other as had pleasure to regarde that sporte; and t came to the place appoynted and drew all on the one parte: the plac juste in was fayre green and playne. Sir Johan Hollande first sent touche the shelde of warre of Syr Bociquaut, who incontinent issued of his pavylyon redy mounted, with shelde and speare: these knyghtes drew fro other a certayne space, and when each of them well advysed other, they spurred their horses and came together ruc and Bociquaut struke the Erle of Huntingdon through the shelde, the speare head glente over his arme and dyd hym no hurt; and so passed further and turned and rested at their pease. This course greatly praysed. The second course they met without any hurt doyn and the third course their horses refused and wolde not cope." An Froissart goes on to describe, in page after page, how the English knig one after another, encountered the three challengers with various fort till at last "they ran no more that day, for it was nere night. Ther Englysshmen drew togeder and departed, and rode to Calays, and t devysed that night of that had been done that day; in likewyse Frenchmen rode to Saint Ingilbertes and communed and devyse yt had been done ye same day." "The Tuesday, after masse, all s as shulde just that day or wolde gyve the lookyng on, rode out of and came to the place appoynted, and the Frenchmen were redy the recyve them: the day was fayre and hot." And so for four days sports continued. In many cases the course failed through fault of l or man; the commonest result of a fair course was that one or the justers were unhelmed; a few knights were unhorsed; one kn was wounded, the spear passing through the shield and piercing the where "the spere brake, and the trunchon stucke styll in the shelde in the knyhte's arme; yet for all yt the knyght made his turn and can his place fresshly."

The illuminator has bestowed two large and beautiful pictures on famous deed of arms. One at folio 230 represents the knights para round the lists to show themselves before the commencement of the sp Our woodcut on page 434 is reduced from another picture at folio

hich represents the actual combat. There are the three handsome avilions of the knights challengers, each with its two shields—the shield f peace and the shield of war—by touching which each juster might ndicate whether he chose to fight "in love or in wrath." There are the alleries hung with tapestries, in which sit the knights and ladies "as had leasure to regard that sporte." There are the groups of knights, and the udges of the field; and there in the foreground are two of the gallant nights in full career, attended by their squires.

It will be interesting to the artist to know something of the colours of he knightly costumes. The knight on this side the barrier has his horse rapped in housings of blue and gold, lined with red, and the bridle to natch; the saddle is red. The knight is in armour of steel, his shield is mblazoned *or*, three hearts *gules*; he bears as a crest upon his helmet wo streamers of some transparent material like lawn. His antagonist's orse is trapped with red and gold housings, and bridle to match. He ears a kind of cape on his shoulders of cloth of gold; his shield is blue. Of the knights on the (spectator's) left of the picture, one has horse rappings of gold and red embroidery lined with plain red, his shield ellow (not gold) with black bearings; another has blue and gold trap- ings, with shield red, with white bearings. Of the knights on the right, ne has horse-trappings blue and gold laced with red, and shield red and hite; the other trappings red and gold, shield yellow. The squires are ressed thus: the limbs encased in armour, the body clothed in a jupon, hich is either green embroidery on red ground or red embroidery on reen ground. The pavilions are tinted red, with stripes of a darker ed. The shields of the challengers are—on the left tent, *azure*, three earts *argent*; on the middle, *vert*, three hearts *or*; on the right, *or*, three earts *gules*.

We have drawn upon the romancer and the historian to illustrate the bject; we have cited ancient documents, and copied contemporary ictures; we will call upon the poet to complete our labour. Chaucer, in he Knight's Tale, gives a long account of a just *à l'outrance* between alamon and Arcite and a hundred knights a-side, which came to pass us: Palamon and Arcite, two cousins and sworn brothers-in-arms, had the



misfortune both to fall in love with Emily, the younger sister of Ipolyta, he Queen of Theseus Duke-regnant of Athens. Theseus found the two oung men, one May morning, in the wood engaged in a single combat.

"This Duke his courser with his spurres smote,
And at a start he was betwixt them two,
And pulled out his sword and cried Ho!
No more, up pain of losing of your head."

After discovering the cause of their enmity, the Duke ordained that hat day fifty weeks each should bring a hundred knights ready to fight in he lists on his behalf—

"And whether he or thou
Shall with his hundred as I speak of now
Slay his contrary or out of listes drive,
Him shall I given Emilie to wive."

Each of the rivals rode through the country far and near during the fty weeks, to enlist valiant knights to make up his hundred; and on the ve of the appointed day each party rode into Athens; and, says Chaucer, never did so small a band comprise so noble a company of knights":—

"For every wight that loved chevalrie,
And wolde, his thankes, have a lasting name,
Hath praied that he might ben of that game,
And well was he that thereto chosen was."

And the poet goes on with this testimony to the chivalrous feeling of his wn time:—

"For if there fell to-morrow such a case,
Ye knowen well that every lusty knyght
That loveth par amour, and hath his might,
Were it in Engleland or elleswhere,
They wolde, hir thankes, willen to be there."

At length the day arrives:—

"Gret was the feste in Athens thilke day.
* * *
And on the morrow when the day gan spring,
Of horse and harness, noise and clattering
There was in all the hostelries about:
And to the palace rode there many a rout
Of lordes upon stedes and palfries.
There mayst thou see devising of harnes

So uncouth and so riche, and wrought so well,
Of goldsmithry, of brouding, and of steel;
The shieldes bright, testeres, and trappours;
Gold-hewen helms, hawberks, cote-armures;
Lordes in paraments on their coursers,
Knyghts of retenue and eke squires,
Nailing the speares and helms buckeling,
Gniding of shields with lainers lacing;
There, as need is, they were nothing idle.
The foaming steedes on the golden bridle
Gnawing, and fast the armourers also
With file and hammer pricking to and fro;
Yeomen on foot, and commons many a one,
With shorte staves thick as they may gon;
Pipes, trompes, nakeres, and clariouns,
That in the battaille blowen bloody sounes.
The palais full of people up and down.
* * *
Duke Theseus is at a window sette,
Arraied right as he were a god in throne;
The people presseth thitherward full soon
Him for to see, and do him reverence,
And eke to hearken his heste and his sentence.
An herauld on a scaffold made an O *
Till that the noise of the people was ydo;
And when he saw the people of noise all still,
Thus shewed he the mighty Dukes will."

The Duke's will was, that none of the combatants should use shot (*i.e.* any missile), or poleaxe, or short knife, or short pointed sw but they were to run one course with sharp spears and then—

"With long sword or with mace to fight their fill."

However, any one who was forcibly drawn to a stake—of which one planted at each end of the lists—should be *hors de combat;* and if e of the leaders was slain or disabled or drawn to the stake, the co should cease.

"Up goe the trumpets and the melodie
And to the listes rode the compaynie.
By ordinance throughout the city large
Hanged with cloth of gold, and not with serge.
* * *
And thus they passen through the citie

* "Oyez!" or perhaps "Ho!"

And to the listes comen they be-time
It was not of the day yet fully prime,
When set was Theseus full rich and high,
Ipolita the queen and Emilie,
And other ladies in degrees about,
Unto the seates presseth all the rest."

Then Arcite and his hundred knights enter through the western side of the lists under a red banner, and Palamon and his company at the same moment, under a white banner, enter by the eastern gates.

"And in two ranges fayre they hem dresse,
When that their names read were every one,
That in their number guile were there none.
Then were the gates shut, and cried was loud,
'Do now your devoir, young knyghtes proud.'
The heraudes left there pricking up and down;
Then ringen trompes loud and clarioun;
There is no more to say, but east and west,
In go the speres quickly into rest,
In goeth the sharpe spur into the side;
There see men who can juste and who can ride;
There shiver shafts upon sheldes thick,
He feeleth through the herte-spoon the prick.
Up springen speres, twenty foot in hyhte,
Out go the swords as the silver bright
The helmes they to-hewen and to-shred;
Out bursts the blood with sterne streames red.
With mighty maces the bones they to-brest.
He through the thickest of the throng gan thrust,
There stumble steedes strong, and down goth all.
He rolleth under foot as doth a ball!
He foineth on his foe with a truncheon,
And he him hurteth, with his horse adown;
He through the body is hurt and sith ytake,
Maugre his head, and brought unto the stake."

At last it happened to Palamon—

"That by the force of twenty is he take
Unyolden, and drawen to the stake.
And when that Theseus had seen that sight,
Unto the folk that foughten thus eche one
He cried 'Ho! no more, for it is done!'
The troumpors with the loud minstralcie,

The herauldes that so loude yell and crie,
Been in their joy for wele of Don Arcite.
* * *
This fierce Arcite hath off his helm ydone,
And on a courser, for to show his face,
He pusheth endilong the large place,
Looking upward upon this Emilie,
And she towards him cast a friendly eye;"

when, alas! his horse started, fell, and crushed the exulting victor, so t
he lay bruised to death in the listes which had seen his victory. Aft
decent time of mourning, by Theseus's good offices, Emily accepts
surviving lover:

"And thus with alle blisse and melodie
Hath Palamon ywedded Emelie."

The two curious woodcuts * on pages 425 and 426 show the styl
carriage associated—grotesquely associated, it seems to our eyes—with
armour and costume of the Middle Ages. No. 1 might represent D
Theseus going in state through the streets of Athens, hung with tape
and cloth of gold, to the solemn deed of arms of Palamon and Arc
No. 2 may represent to us the merry Sir Dinadan driving to the tou
ment of the Castle of Maidens.

* From Mr. Wright's "Domestic Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages."

CHAPTER X.

MEDIÆVAL BOWMEN.

THE archers of England were so famous during the Middle Ages that we feel special interest in knowing something about them. As early as the Conquest we find the Norman archers giving the nvader a great advantage over the Saxons, who had not cultivated this rm with success. Their equipment and appearance may be seen in the Bayeux tapestry; most of them are evidently unarmed, but some are in rmour like that of the men-at-arms. Usually the quiver hangs at the ide; yet occasionally at the back, so that the arrows are drawn out over he shoulder; both fashions continued in later times. In one case, at east, an archer, in pursuit of the flying Saxons, is seen on horseback; but t may be doubted whether at this period, as was the case subsequently, ome of the archers were mounted, or whether an archer has leaped upon riderless horse to pursue the routed enemy. The bow was of the simplest onstruction, not so long as it afterwards became; the arrows were barbed nd feathered. Each archer—in later times, at least—commonly carried wo dozen arrows "under his belt." He also frequently bore a stake harpened at both ends, so that in the field, when the front ranks fixed heir stakes in the ground with their points sloping outward, and the ear rank fixed theirs in the intermediate spaces, they formed a *cheval e frise* against cavalry, and, with the flanks properly cared for, they ould hold their ground even against the steel-clad chivalry. Latterly lso the archers were sometimes protected by a great movable shield; his they fixed upright by a rest, and behind it were sheltered from the dverse bowmen. The archer also carried a sword, so that he could

defend himself, if attacked, hand to hand; or act on the offens with the main body of foot when his artillery was expended. By twelfth century there are stories on record which show that the Eng bowmen had acquired such skill as to make their weapon a very formida one. Richard of Devizes tells us that at the siege of Messina the Sicili were obliged to leave their walls unmanned, "because no one could l abroad but he would have an arrow in his eye before he could shut it."

In the thirteenth century the archer became more and more import He always began the battle at a distance, as the artillery do in mod warfare, before the main bodies came up to actual hand-to-hand fight We find in this century a regular use of mounted corps of bowmen cross-bowmen; and the knights did not scorn to practise the use of weapon, and occasionally to resort to it on a special occasion in the fi Some of the bowmen continue to be found, in the MS. illustrations, m or less fully armed, but the majority seem to have worn only a helme iron, and perhaps half armour of leather, or often nothing more tha woollen jerkin.

The cross-bow, or arbalest, does not appear to have been used in until the close of the twelfth century. It was not equal to the long-bo strong and skilful hands, because a powerful and skilful bowman, whil could probably send his shaft with as much force as a cross-bow, co shoot half-a-dozen arrows while the cross-bow was being wound up to charge a second bolt; but still, once introduced, the mechanical advant which the cross-bow gave to men of ordinary strength and of inferior caused it to keep its ground, until the invention of fire-arms gradu superseded both long-bow and arbalest. The bow of the cross-bow se to have been usually of steel; some of them were strung by putting foot into a loop at the end of the stock, and pulling the cord up t notch by main force: an illustration of this early form appears in arbalester shooting from the battlement of the castle in the early f teenth-century illumination on p. 381, and another at p. 382; but the n powerful bows required some mechanical assistance to bring the st to its place. In a picture in the National Gallery of the Martyrdon St. Sebastian, by Antonio Pollajuolo, of Florence, A.D. 1475, an arbale

has a cord attached to his belt, and a pulley running on it, with a hook to catch the bow-string, so that, putting his foot into the loop at the end of the stock, looping the end of the cord on to a hook at its butt, and catching the bow-string by the pulley, he could, by straightening himself, apply the whole force of his body to the stringing of his weapon. More frequently, however, a little winch was used, by which the string was wound into its place with little expenditure of strength. One of the men in the cut on the next page is thus stringing his bow, and it is seen again in the cut on p. 449. The arrow shot by the cross-bow was called a bolt or quarrel; it was shorter and stouter than an ordinary arrow, with a heavier head. The arbalester seems to have carried fifty bolts into the field with him; the store of bolts was carried by waggons which followed the army.

We have already said that there were, from the thirteenth century, bodies of mounted arbalesters. But the far larger proportion of archers, of both arms, were footmen, who were usually placed in front of the array to commence the engagement.

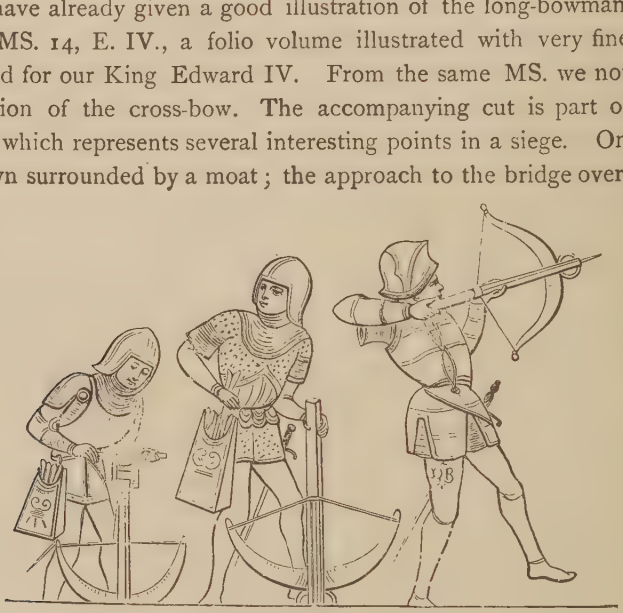
The arbalest, however, was more used on the Continent than in England; and hence the long-bow came to be especially considered the national arm of the English, while the Genoese became famous as arbalesters. The superior rapidity of fire gave the English archer the same advantage over his foemen that the needle-gun gave to the Prussians in the late war.

Later on, in the fourteenth century, the battle seems to have been usually begun by the great machines for throwing stones and darts which then played the part of modern cannon, while the bowmen were placed on the flanks. Frequently, also, archers were intermixed with the horsemen, so that a body of spearmen with archers among them would play the part which a body of dragoons did in more modern warfare, throwing the opposing ranks into confusion with missiles, before charging upon them hand to hand.

In the fourteenth century the bow had attained the climax of its reputation as a weapon, and in the French wars many a battle was decided by the strength and skill and sturdy courage of the English bowmen. Edward III. conferred honour on the craft by raising a corps of archers

of the King's Guard, consisting of 120 men, the most expert who co be found in the kingdom. About the same period the French ki enrolled from their allies of Scotland the corps of Scottish Archers of Guard, who were afterwards so famous.

We have already given a good illustration of the long-bowman from Royal MS. 14, E. IV., a folio volume illustrated with very fine pictu executed for our King Edward IV. From the same MS. we now take illustration of the cross-bow. The accompanying cut is part of a lar picture which represents several interesting points in a siege. On the ri is a town surrounded by a moat; the approach to the bridge over the m



Bowmen and Arbalesters.

is defended by an outwork, and the arbalesters in the cut are skirmish with some bowmen on the battlements and angle-turrets of this work. On the left of the picture are the besiegers. They have erecte wooden castle with towers, surrounded by a timber breast-work. In fron this breast-work is an elaborate cannon of the type of that represente the cut on page 392. At a little distance is a battery of one can elevated on a wooden platform, and screened by a breast-work of bas work, which was a very usual way of concealing cannon down to time of Henry VIII.

The man on the right of the cut wears a visored helmet, but it has

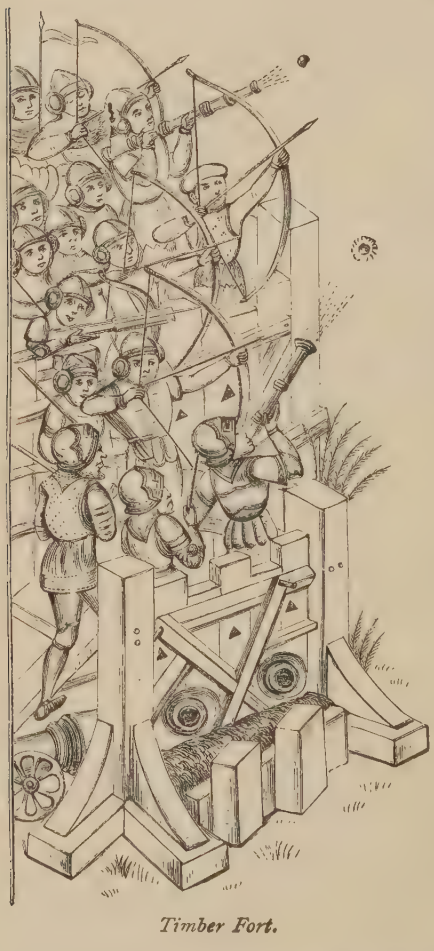
amail; his body is protected by a skirt of mail, which appears at the shoulders and hips, and at the openings of his blue surcoat; the legs are in brown hose, and the feet in brown shoes. The centre figure has a helmet and camail, sleeves of mail, and iron breastplate of overlapping plates; the upper plate and the skirt are of red spotted with gold; his hose and shoes are of dark grey. The third man has a helmet with camail, and the body protected by mail, which shows under the arm, but he has also

Arbalesters.

houlder-pieces and elbow-pieces of plate; his surcoat is yellow, and his ose red. The artist has here admirably illustrated the use of the cross-ow. In one case we see the archer stringing it by help of a little winch; the next he is taking a bolt out of the quiver at his side with which to ad his weapon; in the third we have the attitude in which it was dis-harged.

The illustration above, from a fourteenth-century MS. (Cott. Julius, E. IV.

f. 219), represents a siege. A walled town is on the right, and in fron the wall, acting on the part of the town, are the cross-bowmen in the protected by great shields which are kept upright by a rest. The



Timber Fort.

seem to be preparing to fire, the uniformity of their attit compared with the studied var of attitude of groups of bow in other illustrations, suggests they are preparing to fire a vo On the left of the pictur sketched a group of tents re senting the camp of the besieg and in front of the camp palisade which screens a car of considerable length. whole picture is only sketche with pen and ink.

The woodcut here given (R 14, E. IV. f. xiv.) forms part large and very interesting pict In the middle of the pictur a castle with a bridge, prote by an advanced tower, an postern with a drawbridge dr up. Archers, cross-bowmen, men-at-arms man the battleme In front is a group of men-at-a and tents, with archers and cr bowmen shooting up at the fenders. On the right is a gr of men-at-arms who seem to meditating an attack by surp upon the postern. On the left, opposed to the principal gate, is timber fort shown in the woodcut. Its construction, of great posts

hick slabs of timber strengthened with stays and cross-beams, is well ndicated. There seem to be two separate works: one is a battery of wo cannon, the cannon having wheeled carriages; the other is manned y archers. It is curious to see the mixture of arms—long-bow, cross-bow, ortable fire-arm, and wheeled cannon, all used at the same time; indeed, t may be questioned whether the earlier fire-arms were very much superior n effect to the more ancient weapons which they supplanted. No doubt nany an archer preferred the long-bow, with which he could shoot with ruer aim than with a clumsy hand-gun; and perhaps a good catapult was niy inferior to one of the early cannon in being a larger and heavier engine.

At fol. 1 v. of the same MS., a wooden tower and lofty breast-work ave been thrown up in front of a town by the defenders as an additional rotection to the usual stone tower which defends the approach to the ridge. The assailants are making an assault on this breast-work, and eed ladders to scale it; so that it is evident the defenders stand on a aised platform behind their timber defence. See a similar work at f. xlviij., vhich is mounted with cannon.

The practice of archery by the commonalty of England was protected nd encouraged by a long series of legislation. As early as Henry I. we ind an enactment—which indicates that such accidents happened then as lo unhappily in these days, when rifle-shooting is become a national ractice—that if any one practising with arrows or with darts should by ccident slay another, it was not to be punished as a crime. In the four- eenth century, when the archer had reached the height of his importance n the warfare of the time, many enactments were passed on the subject. Some were intended to encourage, and more than encourage, the practice y the commonalty of what had become the national arm. In 1363, and gain in 1388, statutes were passed calling upon the people to leave their opular amusements of ball and coits and casting the stone and the like, n their festivals and Sundays, and to practise archery instead. "Servants nd labourers shall have bows and arrows, and use the same the Sundays nd holidays, and leave all playing at tennis or foot-ball, and other games alled coits, dice, casting the stone, kailes, and other such inopportune ames."

In 1482 a statute says that the dearness of bows has driven the peo to leave shooting, and practise unlawful games, though the king's subje are perfectly disposed to shoot; and it therefore regulates the price of bo This crude legislation, of course, failed to remedy the evil, for if bowyers could not sell them at a profit, they would cease to make the or rather to import the wood of which they were made, since the best yew bows came from abroad, English yew not supplying pieces sufficiently lo without knots. Accordingly, in 1483, another statute required all mercha sending merchandise to England from any place from which bow-sta were usually exported, to send four bow-staves for every ton of merchandi and two persons were appointed at each port to inspect the staves sent, and mark and reject those which were not good and sufficient.

Still later the erection of butts was encouraged in every parish to preve the accidents which the statute of Henry I. had directed justice to wi at; and traces of them still remain in the names of places, as in Newingt Butts; and still more frequently in the names of fields, as the "butt-fiel

Our history of ancient artillery would be imperfect without a few wo on the modern artillery of metal balls propelled from hollow tubes by t explosive force of gunpowder, which superseded the slings and bo and darts, the catapults and trebuchets and mangonels and batteri rams, which had been used from the beginning of warfare in the wor and also drove out of use the armour, whether of leather, bone, or ste which failed to pay in security of person against shot and cannon-ball its weight and encumbrance to the wearer. A good deal of curio inquiry has been bestowed upon the origin of this great agent in the re lution of modern warfare. The Chinese and Arabs are generally regard as the first inventors of gunpowder; among Europeans its invention h been attributed to Marcus Graecus, Albertus Magnus, Barthold Schwal and Roger Bacon.

The first written evidence relating to the existence of cannon is in t ordinances of Florence, in the year 1326, wherein authority is given the Priors Gonfalionieri and twelve good men to appoint persons superintend the manufacture of cannons and iron balls for the defence the Commune Camp and territory of the Republic. J. Barbour, the po

usually quoted as an authority for the use of cannon "crakeys of war," Edward III., in his Scottish campaign, in the year 1327. But since arbour was not born till about that year, and did not write till 1375, his thority was not contemporary and may be doubted, especially since ere is strong negative evidence to the contrary: *e. g.* that all the army counts of this campaign still remain, and no mention of guns or gun-wder is to be found in them. In 1338, however, there is unquestionable idence that cannon of both iron and brass were employed on board nglish ships of war. In an inventory of things delivered that year by hn Starling, formerly clerk of the king's vessels, to Helmyng, keeper of e same, are noted "un canon de fer ov ii chambers, un autre de bras ove e chamber, iii canons de fer of v chambres, un handgonne," &c. In planation of the two and five chambers, it appears that these earliest nnon were breechloaders, and each cannon had several movable ambers to contain the charges. The same year, 1338, gives the first ench document relating to cannon. It is doubly interesting; first cause it relates to the provision made for an expedition against South-npton in that year, and secondly because it was a curious attempt to mbine the cannon and the arbalest, in other words, to make use of the ce of gunpowder for propelling the old short quarrel. It was an iron e-arm provided with forty-eight bolts (carreaux) made of iron and thered with brass. We learn that a tube received the arrow, which was apped round with leather at the butt to make it fit closely, and this tube ed to a box, or chamber, which contained the charge and was kept in place by a wedge.* In 1339 it is recorded that the English used nnon at the siege of Cambray. In 1346 experiments on improved nnon were made by Peter of Bruges, a famous maker, before the consuls Tournay. At the siege of Calais, in 1347, the English built a castle wood, and armed it with bombards. In the household expenses of ward III., commencing 1344, are payments to "engyners lvii., artillers gunners vi.," who each received sixpence a day.

The date of the first appearance of cannon in the field is still disputed;

* "Ancient Cannon in Europe," by Lieut. Brackenbury.

some say they were used at Crecy in the year 1346. Certainly, in 1
the men of Ghent carried guns into the field against the Brugeois; an
the combat of Pont-de-Comines, in the same year, we read *bombe*
portatives were used.

We have already given several illustrations of cannon. Siege ca
for throwing heavy balls which did not need very great accuracy of

Long-bow, Arquebus, Cannon, and Greek Fire.

soon superseded entirely the more cumbrous military engines which
formerly used for the same purpose. But hand-guns were not at fi
greatly superior to bows, and did not so rapidly come into exc
use. And yet a good deal of inventive ingenuity was bestowed upon
improvement and development. The "Brown Bess" of our great
tinental war was a clumsy weapon after all, and it may fairly be do
whether a regiment armed with it could have stood against a row of

Hood's men with their long-bows. It was really left to our day to roduce a portable fire-arm which would fire as rapidly, as far, and with s accurate an aim as Robin Hood's men could shoot their cloth-yard nafts six hundred years ago; and yet it is curious to find some of the ost ingenious inventions of the present day anticipated long since: there e still preserved in the Tower armoury breech-loaders and revolving ambers and conical shot of the time of Henry VIII.

The woodcut on the preceding page, which is from the MS. Royal 14, . IV., contains several figures taken from one of the large illuminations at adorn the MS.; it affords another curious illustration of the simul-neous use of various forms of projectiles. On the right side is an archer, ith his sheaf at his belt and his sword by his le. On the left is a man-at-arms in a very pic-resque suit of complete armour, firing a hand-gun much more modern form than those in the rmer woodcut. A small wheeled cannon on the ound shows the contemporary form of that arm, hile the pikes beside it help to illustrate the great riety of weapons in use. The cross-bowman re introduced is from the same illumination; he is nding up his weapon with a winch, like the cross-wman on p. 442; his shield is slung at his back.

Cross-bow.

But we have specially to call attention to the two men who are throwing ells, which are probably charged with Greek fire. This invention, ich inspired such terror in the Middle Ages, seems to have been scovered in the east of Europe, and to have been employed as early as the venth century. We hear much of its use in the Crusades, by the Greeks, o early possessed the secret of its fabrication. They used it either by cting it through pipes to set fire to the shipping or military engines, or annoy and kill the soldiers of the enemy; or they cast it to a distance means of vessels charged with it affixed to javelins; or they hurled ger vessels by means of the great engines for casting stones; or they ew the fire by hand in a hand-to-hand conflict; or used hollow maces rged with it, which were broken over the person of the enemy, and

the liquid fire poured down, finding its way through the crevices o armour. It was, no doubt, a terrible sight to see a man-at-arms or a wrapped in an instant in liquid flames; and what added to the terr inspired was that the flames could not be extinguished by water or other available appliance. On the introduction of the use of gunpo in European warfare, Greek fire seems also to have been experim

Battering-ram.

upon, and we find several representations of its use in the MS. dra where it is chiefly thrown by hand to set fire to shipping; in the p example, however, it is used in the field.

Lastly, in the above cut we give a representation of the batterin from an interesting work which illustrates all the usual military eng It contains curious contrivances for throwing up scaling-ladders and a

• See also Viollet le Duc's "Dictionary of Architecture."

them to the battlements, from which the inventorsof our fire-escapes may have borrowed suggestions; and others for bridging wide moats and rivers with light scaffolding, which could be handled and fixed as easily and quickly as the scaling-ladders. The drawing of the ram only indicates that the machine consists of a heavy square beam of timber, provided, probably, with a metal head, which is suspended by a rope from a tall frame, and worked by manual strength. The cut is especially interesting as an illustration of the style of armour of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It gives the back as well as the front of the figure, and also several varieties of helmet.

CHAPTER XI.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARMOUR.

AS the fifteenth century advanced the wars of the Roses g urgent reason for attention to the subject of defensive arm and we find, accordingly, that the fashions of armour underw many modifications, in the attempt to give the wearer more perfect tection for life and limb. It would be tedious to enter into the mi details of these changes, and the exact date of their introduction must limit ourselves to a brief history of the general character of the fashions. The horizontal bands of armour called *taces*, depending the corslet, became gradually narrower; while the pieces which l down in front of the thighs, called *tuilles*, became proportionately la In the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. the knightly equipm reached its strangest forms. Besides the usual close-fitting pieces w protected the arms, the elbow-piece was enlarged into an enormous like shape that not only protected the elbow itself, but overlapped fore arm, and by its peculiar shape protected the upper arm up to shoulder. The shoulder-pieces also were strengthened, sometimes several super-imposed overlapping plates, sometimes by hammering it into ridges, sometimes by the addition of a *passe garde*—a kind of collar which protected the neck from a sweeping side blow. The br plate is globular in shape, and often narrow at the waist; from it dep narrow *taces* and *tuilles*, and under the *tuilles* we often find a deep ski mail. When broad-toed shoes came into fashion, the iron shoes of knight followed the fashion; and at the same time, in place of the gauntlet in which the fingers were divided, and each finger protecte

everal small plates of metal, the leather glove was now furnished at the ack of the hand with three or four broad over-lapping plates, like those f a lobster, each of which stretched across the whole hand. These lterations may have added to the strength of the armour, but it was at ne cost of elegance of appearance. A suit of armour embossed with rnamental patterns, partially covered with a blue mantle, may be seen in ne fifteenth-century Book of Hours, Harl. 5,328, f. 77.

In the time of Henry VIII., in place of the *taces* and *tuilles* for the efence of the body and thighs, a kind of skirt of steel, called *lamboys*, as introduced, which was fluted and ribbed vertically, so as to give it ery much the appearance of a short petticoat. Henry VIII. is represented this costume in the equestrian figure on his great seal. And a suit armour of this kind, a very magnificent one, which was presented to e king by the Emperor Maximilian on the occasion of his marriage to atharine of Arragon, is preserved in the Tower armoury. A good etch of a suit of this kind will be seen in one of the pikemen—the fifth om the right hand—in the nearest rank of the army in the engraving of ing Henry VIII.'s army, which faces page 455. The armour of this ign was sometimes fashioned in exact imitation of the shape of the rdinary garments of a gentleman of the time, and engraved and inlaid in itation of their woven or embroidered ornamentation.

In the tournament armour of the time the defences were most complete, it unwieldy and inelegant. The front of the saddle had a large piece of nour attached, which came up to protect the trunk, and was bent round encase each thigh. A clearly drawn representation of this will be found a tilting scene in the illumination on f. 15 v. of the MS. Add. 24,189, te *circa* 1400 A.D. There are several examples of it in the Tower moury. The shield was also elaborately shaped and curved, to form outer armour for the defence of the whole of the left side. Instead the shield there was sometimes an additional piece of armour, called e *grand garde*, screwed to the breastplate, to protect the left side and oulder; while the great spear had also a piece of armour affixed in ont of the grasp, which not only protected the hand, but was made large ough to make a kind of shield for the right arm and breast. There was

also sometimes a secondary defence affixed to the upper part of the bre plate, which stood out in front of the face. These defences for thigh breast will be observed in the woodcut of the "playing at tournament,' p. 408; and in the combat of the Earl of Warwick, p. 418, will be s how the *grande garde* is combined with the *volante* piece which cam front of the face. Behind such defences the tilter must have been aln invulnerable. On the other hand, his defences were so unwieldy he must have got into his saddle first, and then have been packed secu

Combat on Foot.

into his armour; and when there, he could do nothing but sit still hold his spear in rest—it seems impossible for him even to have stru single sword stroke. James I.'s remark on armour was especially tr such a suit: "It was an admirable invention which preserved a man being injured, and made him incapable of injuring any one else."

There are several very good authorities for the military costume of reign of Henry VIII. easily accessible to the student and artist.

roll preserved in the College of Arms which represents the tournament held at Westminster, A.D. 1510, in honour of the birth of the son of Henry and Katharine of Arragon, has been engraved in the "Vetusta Monumenta." The painting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold at Hampton Court is another contemporary authority full of costumes of all kinds. The engravings of Hans Burgmaier, in the *Triumphs of Maximilian* and the *Weise Könige* contain numerous authorities very valuable for the clearness and artistic skill with which the armour is depicted. We have given an illustration, on the preceding page, reduced from one of the plates of the latter work, which represents a combat of two knights, on foot. The armour is partly covered by a surcoat; in the left-hand figure it will be seen that it is fluted. The shields will be noticed as illustrating one of the shapes then in use.

But our best illustration is from a contemporary drawing in the British Museum (Aug. III., f. 4), which represents Henry VIII.'s army, and gives us, on a small scale, and in very sketchy but intelligible style, a curious and valuable picture of the military equipment of the period. We have two armies drawn up in battle array, and the assault is just commenced. The nearer army has its main body of pikemen, who, we know from contemporary writers, formed the main strength of an army at this time, and for long after. In front of them are two lines of arquebusiers. Their front is protected by artillery, screened by great *mantelets* of timber. The opposing army has similarly its main body of pikemen, and its two lines of arquebusiers; the first line engaged in an assault upon the enemy's artillery. On the left flank of its main body is the cavalry; and there seems to be a reserve of pikemen a little distance in the rear, behind a rising ground. Tents pitched about a village represent the head-quarters of the army, and baggage waggons on the left of the picture show that the artist has overlooked nothing. A fortress in the distance seems to be taking part in the engagement with its guns.

There are other similar pictures in the same volume, some of which supply details not here given, or not so clearly expressed. At folio 1 are two armies, each with a van of musketeers three deep, a main body of pikemen eleven deep, and a third line of musketeers three deep. The

cavalry are more distinctly shown than in the picture before us, as be men-at-arms in full armour, with lances. At folio 3 the drummers, fif and baggage and camp followers are shown.

In the *Weise Könige*,* on plate 44, is a representation of a camp rounded by the baggage waggons; on plates 91 and 96 a square for timber in the field of battle; on plates 57, 84, &c., are cannons surroun by mantelets, some of wicker probably filled with earth; on plate 60 good representation of a column of troops defiling out of the gate of a

The following account, from Grafton's Chronicle, of the array in wh Henry VIII. took the field when he marched to the siege of Boulogne, illustrate the picture:—

"The xxj. day of July (1513), when all thinges by counsayle had b ordered concernyng the order of battaile, the king passed out of the t of Calice in goodly array of battaile, and toke the field. And notw standyng that the forewarde and the rerewarde of the kinges great ar were before Tyrwin, as you have heard, yet the king of his own batt made three battailes after the fassion of the warre. The Lord L marshall of the hoste, was captain of the foreward, and under him th thousand men; Sir Rychard Carew, with three hundred men, was right-hand wing to the foreward; and the Lord Darcy, with three h dred men, was wing on the left hande; the scowrers and fore-ryder this battaile were the Northumberland men on light geldings. The E of Essex was lieutenaunt-generall of the speres, and Sir John Pechy vice-governour of the horsemen. Before the king went viij. hund Almaynes, all in a plump by themselves. After them came the stand with the red dragon, next the banner of our ladie, and next after banner of the Trinitie: under the same were all the kinges housho servauntes. Then went the banner of the armes of Englande, borne Sir Henry Guilforde, under which banner was the king himselfe, v divers noblemen and others, to the number of three thousand men. T Duke of Buckyngham, with sixe hundred men, was on the kinges

* The British Museum does not possess this fine work, but a copy of it is accessibl the public in the Library of the South Kensington Museum.

nande, egall with the Almaynes; in like wise on the right hande was Sir Edward Pournynges, with other sixe hundred men egall with the Almaynes. The Lord of Burgoynie, with viij. hundred men, was wing on the right nande; Sir William Compton, with the retinue of the Bishop of Winchester, and Master Wolsey, the king's almoner,* to the number of viij.

Pikeman.

undred, was in manner of a rereward. Sir Anthony Oughtred and Sir ohn Nevell, with the kinges speres that followed, were foure hundred; nd so the whole armie were xj. thousand and iij. hundred men. The ayster of the Ordinaunce set forth the kinges artillerie, as fawcons,

* Afterwards cardinal.

slinges, bombardes, cartes with powder, stones, bowes, arrowes, and su
other thinges necessary for the fielde; the whole number of the carria
were xiij. hundreth; the leaders and dryvers of the same were xix h
dreth men; and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fi
yng men there were not full ix. thousande. Thus in order of battayle
king rode to Sentreyla."

A little after we have a description of the king's camp, which illustrate the other pictures above noted.

"Thursedaie, the fourth daye of Auguste, the king, in good orde battaile, came before the city of Tyrwyn, and planted his siege in m warlike wise; his camp was environed with artillerie, as fawcons, serp tines, crakys, hagbushes, and tryed harowes, spien trestyles, and ot warlike defence for the savegard of the campe. The king for himselfe a house of timber, with a chimney of iron; and for his other lodgings had great and goodlye tents of blewe waterworke, garnished with yel and white, and divers romes within the same for all officers necessa On the top of the pavalions stoode the kinges bestes, holding fanes, as lion, the dragon, the greyhound, the antelope, the Done Kowe.* Wit all the lodginge was paynted full of the sunnes rising: the lodginge wa hundred xxv. foote in length."

At folio 5 of the MS. already referred to (Aug. III.) is a connected rangement of numerous tents, as if to form some such royal quarters. at folio 8 are two gorgeous *suites* of tents, which can hardly have b constructed for any other than a very great personage. One *suite* is of watered, with gold ornamentation; the other is of green and white stri (or rather gores), with a gilded cresting along the ridge, and red and l fringe at the eaves.

Our next engravings are from coloured drawings at f. 9, in the same M and respectively represent very clearly the half-armour worn by the pike and the arquebusier, and the weapons from which they took their name

In the reign of Elizabeth and James I. armour was probably very li worn; but every country knight and esquire possessed a suit of arm

* Dun Cow.

which usually hung in his hall over his chair of state, surrounded by corslets and iron hats, pikes and halberts, cross-bows and long-bows, wherewith to arm his serving-men and tenants, if civil troubles or foreign invasion should call the fighting-men of the country into the field.* The

Arquebusier.

knights and esquires of these times are also commonly represented in armour, kneeling at the prayer-desk, in their monumental effigies. The

* "He is so hung round," says Truewit, in Ben Jonson's *Epicœne*, "with pikes, halberds, petronels, calivers, and muskets, that he looks like a justice of peace's hall." Clement Sysley, of Eastbury House, near Barking, bequeathed in his will the "gonnes, pikes, cross-bows, and other weapons, to Thomas Sysley, to go with the house, and remain as standards for ever in Eastbury Hall."

fashion of the armour differs from that of preceding reigns. The elal rate ingenuities of the latter part of the fifteenth century have been d pensed with, and the extravagant caprices also by which the armour Henry VIII.'s time imitated in steel the fashion of the ordinary costu of the day are equally abandoned. The armour is simply made to fit t breast, body, arms, and legs; the thighs being protected by a modifi tion of the *tuilles* in the form of a succession of overlapping plates (*tass* or *cuisses*) which reach from the corslet to the knee.

The civil war of the Great Rebellion offers a tempting theme, but must limit ourselves to the notice that few, except great noblemen wh acting as military leaders, ever wore anything like a complete suit armour. A beautiful suit, inlaid with gold, which belonged to Charles is in the Tower armoury. But knights are still sometimes represented armour in their monumental effigies. A breast and back-plate over leather coat, and a round iron cap, were commonly worn both by caval and infantry.

In the time of Charles II. and James II., and William and Mar officers still wore breastplates, and military leaders were sometimes paint in full armour, though it may be doubted whether they ever actually wo it. As late as the present century, officers, in some regiments at leas wore a little steel gorget, rather as a distinction than a defence. B even yet our horse-guards remain with their breast and back-plates a helmets, and their thick leather boots, to show us how bright steel an scarlet, waving plumes and embroidered banners, trained chargers ar gay trappings, give outward bravery and chivalric grace to the holid aspect of the sanguinary trade of war.

THE MERCHANTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH COMMERCE.

IN the remotest antiquity, before European civilisation dawned in Greece, Britain was already of some commercial importance. In those days, before the art of tempering iron was discovered, copper occupied the place which iron now fills. But an alloy of tin was requisite to give to copper the hardness and edge needed to fit it for useful tools for the artisan, for arrow and spear heads for the hunter, and for the warrior's sword and shield; and there were only two places known in the world where this valuable metal could be obtained—Spain and Britain. For ages the Phœnician merchants and their Carthaginian colonists had a monopoly of this commerce, as they only had the secret of the whereabouts of the "Isles of Tin." It is very difficult for us to realise to ourselves how heroic was the daring of those early adventurers. We, who have explored the whole earth, and by steam and telegraph brought every corner of it within such easy reach; we, to whom it is a very small matter to make a voyage with women and children to the other side of the world; we, who walk down to the pier to see the ships return from the under world, keeping their time as regularly as the Minster clock—we cannot comprehend what it was to them, to whom the tideless sunny Mediterranean was "The Great Sea," about which they groped cautiously from one rocky headland to

another in fine weather, and laid up in harbour for the winter; to who the Pillars of Hercules were the western boundary of the world, beyo which the weird ocean with its great tides and mountain-waves stretch without limit towards the sunset; we cannot comprehend the heroic dari of the men who, in those little ships, without compass, came from t easternmost shores of the Great Sea, ventured through its western por into this outer waste, and steered boldly northwards towards the unkno regions of ice and darkness.

Our readers will remember that Strabo tells us how, when Rome becar the rival of Carthage, the Romans tried to discover the route to the mysterious islands. He relates how the master of a Carthaginian vess finding himself pursued by one whom the Romans had appointed to wat him, purposely ran his vessel aground, and thus sacrificing ship and car to the preservation of the national secret, was repaid on his return out the public treasury.

The trade, which included lead and hides as well as tin, when it left t hands of the Phœnicians, did not, however, fall into those of the Roma but took quite a different channel. The Greek colony of Marseilles becar then the emporium from which the world was supplied; but the scan accounts we have received imply that it was not conveyed there direct ship-board, but that the native ships and traders of the Gallic towns on t coasts of the Continent conveyed the British commerce across the Chann and thence transported it overland to Marseilles.

The Britons, however, had ships, and it is interesting to know what kind were the prototypes of the vast and magnificent vessels whi in later days have composed the mercantile navy of Great Britain. Th were a kind of large basket of wickerwork, in shape like a walnut she strengthened by ribs of wood, covered on the outside with hides.* Su constructions seem very frail, but they were capable of undertaking con derable voyages. Pliny quotes the old Greek historian Timæus as affirmi that the Britons used to make their way to an island at the distance of s

* A sketch illustrating their construction may be found in Witsen's "Sheeps Bouw Appendix, Plate 10.

ays' sail in boats made of osiers and covered with skins. Solinus states at in his time the communication between Britain and Ireland was kept p on both sides by means of these vessels. Two passages in Adamson, uoted by Macpherson,* tell us that the people sailed in them from Ireland s far as Orkney, and on one occasion we hear of one of these frail vessels dvancing as far into the Northern Ocean as fourteen days with full sail efore a south wind. The common use of such vessels, and the fact of this ntercommunication between England and Ireland and the islands farther orth, seem to imply, at least, some coasting and inter-insular traffic: ships re the instruments either of war or commerce.

The invasion of Julius Cæsar opened up the island to the knowledge of he civilised world, and there are indications that in the interval of a undred years between his brief campaign and the actual conquest under Claudius, a commerce sprang up between the south and south-east of Britain and the opposite coasts of the Continent. In this interval the irst British coinage was struck, and London became the chief emporium of Britain. When the island became a province of the Roman empire, active ommercial intercourse was carried on between it and the rest of the mpire. Its chief production was corn, of which large quantities were xported, so that Britain was to the northern part of the empire what icily was to the southern. Besides, the island exported cattle, hides, and laves; British hunting dogs were famous, and British oysters and pearls. he imports would include all the articles of convenience and luxury used y the civilised inhabitants. We do not know with certainty whether this oreign commerce was carried on by British vessels or not. History has nly preserved the record of the military navy. But when we know that he British fleet, which had been raised to control the piratical enterprises f the Saxons and Northmen, was so powerful that its admiral, Carausius, as able to seize upon a share of the empire, and that his successor in ommand, Allectus, was able, though for a shorter period, to repeat the xploit, we may conclude that the natives of the island must have acquired onsiderable knowledge and experience of maritime affairs, and were very

* "History of Commerce."

likely to turn their acquirements in the direction of commerce. Man
the representations of Roman ships, to be found in works on Ro
antiquities, would illustrate this part of the subject; we may content
selves with referring the reader to a representation, in Witsen's "Sho
Bouw," of a Roman ship being laden with merchandise: a half-na
porter is just putting on board a sack, probably of corn, which is b
received by a man in Roman armour; it brings the salient features of
trade at once before our eyes.

The Saxon invasion overwhelmed the civilisation which was then wi
spread over Britain; and of the history of the country for a long time
that great event we are profoundly ignorant.

It appears that the Saxons after their settlement in England comple
neglected the sea, and it was not until the reign of Alfred, towards the
of the ninth century, that they again began to build ships, and not u
some years later that foreign commerce was carried on in English ves
In these later Saxon times, however, considerable intercourse took p
with the Continent. There was a rage among Saxon men, and wo
too, for foreign pilgrimages; and thousands of persons were continu
going and coming between England and the most famous shrine
Europe, especially those of Rome, the capital city of Western Christend
Among these travellers were some whose object was traffic, probably in
portable articles of jewellery for which the Saxon goldsmiths were fam
throughout Europe. It seems probable that some of these mercha
were accustomed to adopt the pilgrims' character and habit in orde
avail themselves of the immunities and hospitalities accorded to th
and, perhaps, on the other hand, some of those whose first object
religion, carried a few articles for sale to eke out their expenses. T
probably, is the explanation of the earliest extant document bearing
Saxon commerce, which is a letter from the Emperor Charlemagne to C
King of the Mercians, in which he says: "Concerning the strangers, w
for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to
thresholds of the blessed Apostles, let them travel in peace without
trouble; nevertheless, if any are found among them not in the servic
religion, but in the pursuit of gain, let them pay the established dutie

the proper places. We also will that merchants shall have lawful protection in our kingdom ; and if they are in any place unjustly aggrieved, let them apply to us or our judges, and we shall take care that ample justice be done them." The latter clause seems clearly to imply that English merchants in their acknowledged character were also to be found in the dominions of the great Emperor.

The next notice we find of Saxon foreign commerce is equally picturesque, and far more important. It is a law passed in the reign of King Athelstan, between 925 and 950, which enacts that every merchant who shall have made three voyages over the sea in a ship and cargo of his own should have the rank of a thane, or nobleman. It will throw light upon this law, if we mention that it stands side by side with another which gives equally generous recognition to success in agricultural pursuits : every one who had so prospered that he possessed five hides of land, a hall, and a church, was also to rank as a thane.

The law indicates the usual way in which foreign commerce was carried on by native merchants. The merchant owned his own ship, and laded it with his own cargo, and was his own captain, though he might, perhaps, employ some skilful mariner as his ship-master; and, no doubt, his crew was well armed for protection from pirates. In these days a ship is often chartered to carry a cargo to a particular port, and there the captain obtains another cargo, such as the market affords him, to some other port, and so he may wander over the world in the most unforeseen manner before he finds a profitable opportunity of returning to his starting-place. So, probably, in those times the spirited merchant would not merely oscillate between home and a given foreign point, but would carry on a traffic of an adventurous and hazardous but exciting kind, from one of the great European ports to another.

From a volume of Saxon dialogues in the British Museum (Tiberius, A. III.), apparently intended for a school-book, which gives information of various kinds in the form of question and answer, Mr. S. Turner quotes a passage that illustrates our subject in a very interesting way. The merchant is introduced as one of the characters, to give an account of his occupation and way of life. "I am useful," he says, "to the king and to

ealdormen, and to the rich, and to all people. I ascend my ship with
merchandise, and sail over the sea-like places, and sell my things, and
dear things which are not produced in this land, and I bring them to
here with great danger over the sea; and sometimes I suffer shipwr
with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself." The questi
"What do you bring us?" demands an account of the imports, to wh
he answers, "Skins, silks, costly gems, and gold; various garments, p
ment, wine, oil, ivory, and onchalcus (perhaps brass); copper, tin, silv
glass, and such like." The author has omitted to make his merchant
us what things he exported, but from other sources we gather that th
were chiefly wool, slaves, probably some of the metals, viz., tin and le
and the goldsmith's work and embroidery for which the Saxons were th
famous throughout Europe. The dialogue brings out the principle wh
lies at the bottom of commerce by the next question, "Will you sell y
things here as you bought them there?" "I will not, because what wo
my labour profit me? I will sell them here, dearer than I bought th
there, that I may get some profit to feed me, my wife, and children."
the silks and ivory, our merchant would perhaps have to push his adv
turous voyage as far as Marseilles or Italy. Corn, which used to be
chief export in British and Roman times, appears never to have b
exported by the Saxons; they were a pastoral, rather than an agricultu
people. The traffic in slaves seems to have been regular and considera
The reader will remember how the sight of a number of fair English child
exposed for sale in the Roman market-place excited Gregory's interest, a
led ultimately to Augustine's mission. The contemporary account
Wolfstan, Bishop of Worcester, at the time of the Conquest, speaks
similar scenes to be witnessed in Bristol, from which port slaves w
exported to Ireland—probably to the Danes, who were then masters of
east coast. "You might have seen with sorrow long ranks of young peo
of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, tied together with ropes, a
daily exposed to sale: nor were these men ashamed—O horrid wick
ness—to give up their nearest relations, nay their own children, to slaver
The good bishop induced them to abandon the trade, "and set an exam
to all the rest of England to do the same." Nevertheless, William

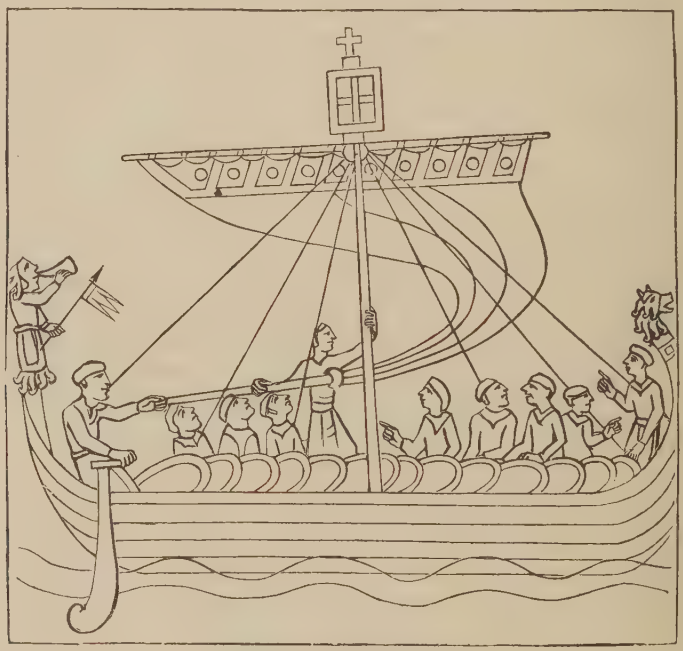
Malmesbury, who wrote nearly a century later, says that the practice of selling even their nearest relations into slavery had not been altogether abandoned by the people of Northumberland in his own memory.

Already, on the death of Ethelbert, in 1016, the citizens of London had arrived at such importance, that, in conjunction with the nobles who were in the city, they chose a king for the whole English nation, viz., Edmund Ironside; and again on the death of Canute, in 1036, they took a considerable part in the election of Harold. At the battle of Hastings the burgesses of London formed Harold's body-guard. A few years previously, Canute, on his pilgrimage to Rome, met the Emperor Conrade and other princes, from whom he obtained for all his subjects, whether merchants or pilgrims, exemption from the heavy tolls usually exacted on the journey to Rome.

During the peaceful reign of Edward the Confessor a much larger general intercourse seems to have sprung up with the Continent, and the commerce of England to have greatly increased. For this we have the testimony of William of Poictiers, William the Conqueror's chaplain, who says, speaking of the time immediately preceding the Conquest, "The English merchants to the opulence of their country, rich in its own fertility, added still greater riches and more valuable treasures. The articles imported by them, notable both for their quantity and their quality, were to have been hoarded up for the gratification of their avarice, or to have been dissipated in the indulgence of their luxurious inclinations. But William seized them, and bestowed part on his victorious army, and part on the churches and monasteries, while to the Pope and the Church of Rome he sent an incredible mass of money in gold and silver, and many ornaments that would have been admired even in Constantinople."

We are not able to give any authentic contemporary illustration of the shipping of this period. Those which are given by Strutt are not really representations of the ships of the period: Byzantine Art still exercised a powerful influence over Saxon Art, and the illuminators frequently gave traditional forms; and the ships introduced by Strutt, though executed by a Saxon artist, are probably copied from Byzantine authorities. The Bayeux tapestry is probably our earliest trustworthy authority for a British ship, and it gives a considerable number of illustrations of them, intended

to represent in one place the numerous fleet which William the Conquer gathered for the transport of his army across the Channel; in another pla the considerable fleet with which Harold hoped to bar the way. The o we have chosen is the duke's own ship; it displays at its mast-head t banner which the Pope had blessed, and the trumpeter on the high po is also an evidence that it is the commander's ship. In the present ca



William the Conqueror's Ship.

the trumpeter is known, from contemporary authority, to have been or wood gilded; but in many of the subsequent illustrations we shall al find a trumpeter, or usually two, who were part of the staff of the co mander, and perhaps were employed in signalling to other ships of t fleet.

The Conquest checked this thriving commerce. William's plunder the Saxon merchants, which was probably not confined to London, m

have gone far to ruin those who were then engaged in it; the general depression of Saxon men for a long time after would prevent them or others from reviving it; and the Normans themselves were averse from mercantile pursuits. In the half-century after the Conquest we really know little or nothing of the history of commerce. The charters of the first Norman kings make no mention of it. Stephen's troubled reign must have been very unfavourable to it. Still foreign merchants would seek a market where they could dispose of their goods, and the long and wise reign of Henry II. enabled English commerce, not only to recover, but to surpass its ancient prosperity. An interesting account of London, given by William FitzStephen, about 1174, in the introduction to a Life of à Becket, gives much information on our subject: he says that "no city in the world sent out its wealth and merchandise to so great a distance," but he does not enumerate the exports. Among the articles brought to London by foreign merchants he mentions gold, spices, and frankincense from Arabia; precious stones from Egypt; purple cloths from Bagdad; furs and ermines from Norway and Russia; arms from Scythia; and wines from France. The citizens he describes as distinguished above all others in England for the elegance of their manners and dress, and the magnificence of their tables. There were in the city and suburbs thirteen large conventual establishments and 120 parish churches. He adds that the dealers in the various sorts of commodities, and the labourers and artizans of every kind, were to be found every day stationed in their several distinct places throughout the city, and that a market was held every Friday in Smithfield for the sale of horses, cows, hogs, &c.; the citizens were distinguished from those of other towns by the appellation of barons; and Malmesbury, an author of the same age, also tells us that from their superior opulence, and the greatness of the city, they were considered as ranking with the chief people or nobility of the kingdom.

The great charter of King John provided that all merchants should have protection in going out of England and in coming back to it, as well as while residing in the kingdom or travelling about in it, without any impositions or payments such as to cause the destruction of their trade. During the thirteenth century, it seems probable that much of the foreign

commerce of the country was carried on by foreign merchants, who im ported chiefly articles of luxury, and carried back chiefly wool, hides, an leather, and the metals found in England. But there were various enac ments to prevent foreign merchants from engaging in the domestic trad of the country. In the fourteenth century commerce received muc attention from government, and many regulations were made in th endeavour to encourage it, or rather to secure as much of its profits a possible to English, and leave as little as possible to foreign, merchant Our limits do not allow us to enter into details on the subject, and ou plan aims only at giving broad outside views of the life of the merchan of the Middle Ages.

Let us introduce here an illustration of the ships in which the commerc was conducted. Perhaps the only illustration to be derived from the M illuminations of the thirteenth century is one in the Roll of St. Guthla which is early in the century, and gives a large and clear picture of S Guthlac in a ship with a single mast and sail, steered by a paddle co sisting of a pole with a short cross handle at the top, like the poles wi which barges are still punted along, and expanding at bottom into a sho spade-like blade. Some of the seals of this century also give rude repr sentations of ships: one of H. de Neville gives a perfectly crescen shaped hull with a single mast supported by two stays; that of Hugo Burgh has a very high prow and stern, which reminds us of the build modern *prahus*. Another, of the town of Monmouth, has a more artist representation of a ship of similar shape, but the high prow and stern a both ornamented with animals' heads, like the prow of William the Co queror's ship. The Psalter of Queen Mary, which is of early fourteent century date, gives an illustration of the building of Noah's ark, which is ship of the shape found in the Bayeux tapestry, with a sort of house within The illustration we give opposite from the Add. MS. 3,983, f. 6, was als executed early in the fourteenth century, and though rude it is valuable one of the earliest examples of a ship with a rudder of the modern constru tion; it also clearly indicates the fact that these early vessels used oars well as sails. The usual mode of steering previous to, and for some tim subsequent to, this time was with a large broad oar at the ship's counte

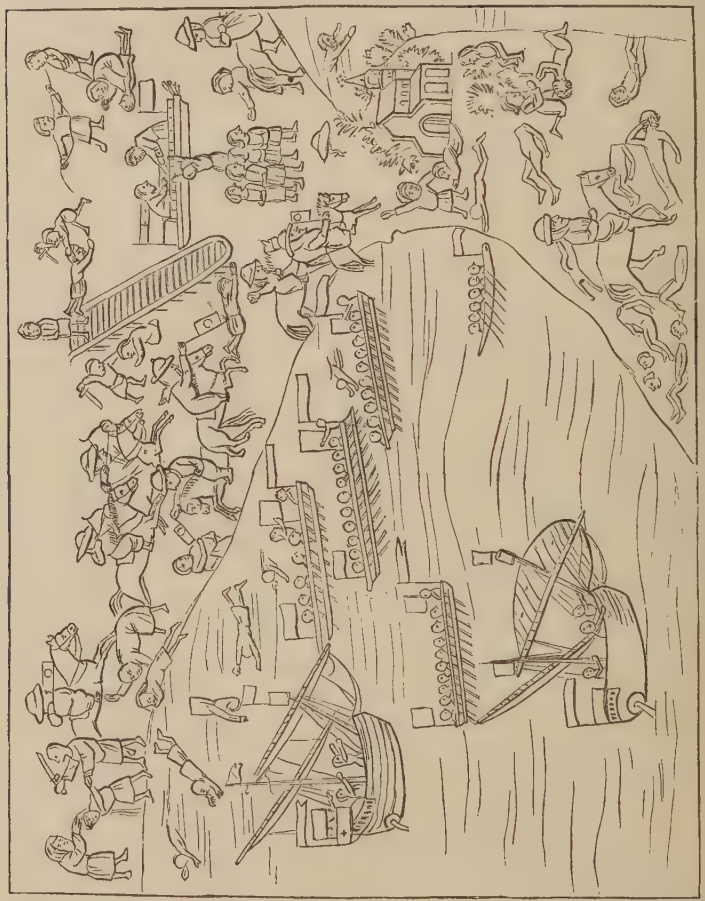
worked in a noose of rope (a *gummet*) or through a hole in a piece of wood attached to the vessel's side. The first mode will be found illustrated in the Add. MS. 24,189, at f. 30, and the second at f. 5 in the same MS. The men of this period were not insensible to the value of a means of propelling a vessel independently of the wind; and employed human

A Ship, Early Fourteenth Century.

muscle as their motive power. Some of the great trading cities of the Mediterranean used galleys worked by oars, not only for warfare, but for commercial purposes: *e.g.* in 1409 A.D., King Henry granted to the merchants of Venice permission to bring their carracks, galleys, and other vessels, laden with merchandise, to pass over to Flanders, return and sell

their cargoes without impediment, and sail again with English merchan
and go back to their own country.

A very curious and interesting MS. (Add. 27,695) recently acquired



A Harbour in the Fourteenth Century.

the British Museum, which appears to be of Genoese Art, and of date al
A.D. 1420, enables us to give a valuable illustration of our subject. It occu
the whole page of the MS.; we have only given the lower half, of the

of the original. It appears to represent the siege of Tripoli. The city is in the upper part of the page; our cut represents the harbour and a suburb of the town. It is clearly indicated that it is low water, and

An Early Representation of the Whale Fishery.

the high-water mark is shown in the drawing by a different colour. Moreover, a timber pier will be noticed, stretching out between high and low-water mark, and a boat left high and dry by the receding tide. In

the harbour are ships of various kinds, and especially several of galleys of which we have spoken. The war-galley may be found f illustrated in Witsen's "Sheep's Bouw," p. 186.

The same MS., in the lower margin of folio 9 v., has an exceedin interesting picture of a whaling scene, which we are very glad to introd as a further illustration of the commerce and shipping of this early peri It will be seen that the whale has been killed, and the successful adv turers are "cutting out" the blubber very much after the modern fashic

NOTE.—A correspondent in *Notes and Queries* (12. S.x. 413) points out that illustration on page 473 refers to the "The Golden Legend," compiled by Jacobus Voragine in 1275, and the scene represents an incident in the wanderings of St Bren or Brandon. "The Golden Legend" was printed by Caxton in 1483. There i recorded that during their wanderings St Brendon's companions landed

"upon an island, weening to them that they had been safe, and made thereon a for to dress their dinner, but S. Brandon abode still in the ship, and when the fire v right hot and the meal nigh sodden, then this island began to move, whereof the mo were afeared, and fled anon to ship and left the fire and meal behind them, and marvel sore of the moving. And S. Brandon comforted them and said that it was a great named Jasconye, which laboureth night and day to put his tail in his mouth, but greatness he may not. And then anon they sailed west three days and three nights they saw any land. . . ."

CHAPTER II.

THE MERCHANT NAVY.

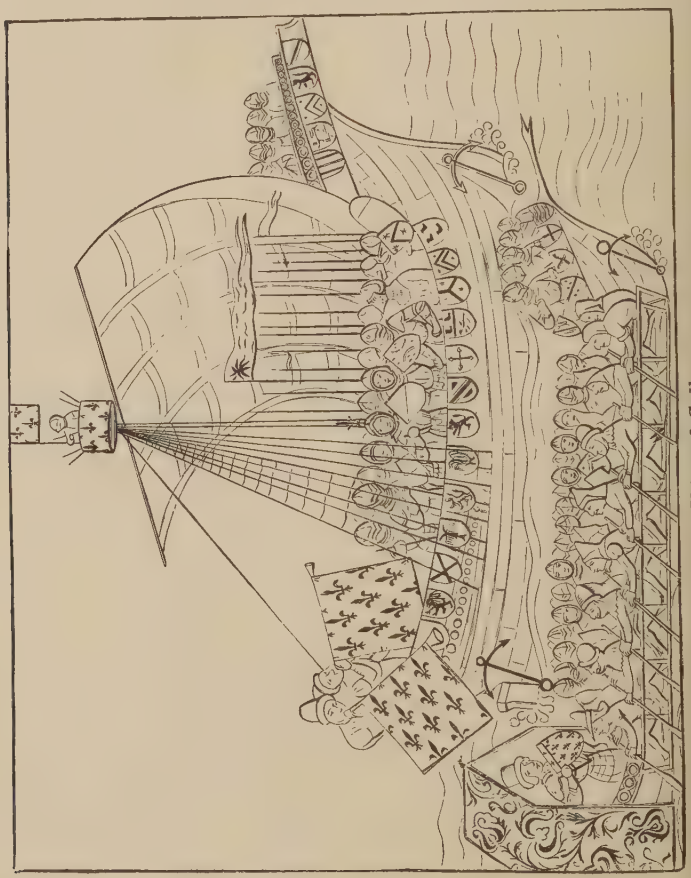
THE history of the merchant navy in the Middle Ages is very much mixed up with that of the military navy.

In the time of the earlier Norman kings we seem not to have ad any war-ships. The king had one or two ships for his own uses, and red or impressed others when he needed them; but they were only ips of burden, transports by which soldiers and munitions of war were nveyed to the Continent and back, as occasion required. If hostile essels encountered one another at sea, and a fight ensued, it seems to ave been a very simple business: the sailors had nothing to do with the ghting, they only navigated the ships; the soldiers on board discharged eir missiles at one another as the ships approached, and when the essels were laid alongside, they fought hand to hand. The first ships of ar were a revival of the classical war-galleys. We get the first clear escription of them in the time of Richard I., from Vinesauf, the historian of the second Crusade. He compares them with the ancient lleys, and says the modern ones were long, low in the water, and ghtly built, rarely had more than two banks of oars, and were armed th a "spear" at the prow for "ramming." Gallernes were a smaller nd of galleys with only one bank of oars.

From this reign the sovereign seems to have always maintained some- ng approaching to a regular naval establishment, and to have aimed at eping the command of the narrow seas. In the reign of John we find e king had galleys and galliases, and another kind of vessels which were

probably also a sort of galley, called "long ships," used to guard coasts, protect the ports, and maintain the police of the seas.

The accompanying drawing, from one of the illuminations in



Ship and Galley.

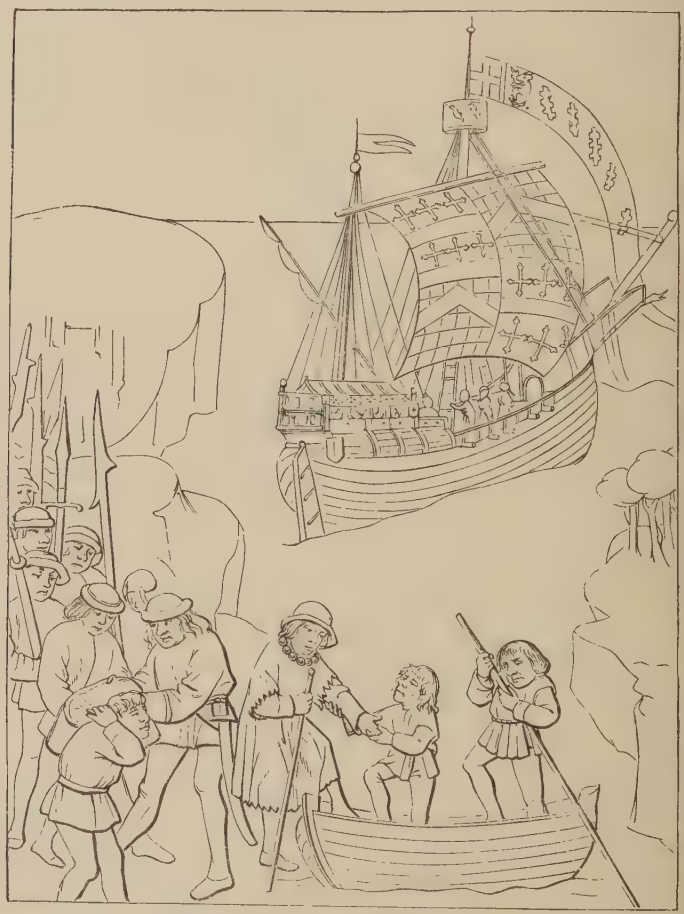
famous MS. of Froissart's Chronicle, in the British Museum (Harl. 4, is perhaps one of the clearest and best contemporary illustrations we of these mediæval galleys. It will be seen that it consists of a lon open boat, with outrigger galleries for the rowers, while the hold i

ee for merchandise, or, as in the present instance, for men-at-arms. It as a forecastle like an ordinary ship; the shields of the men-at-arms who ccupy it are hung over the bulwarks; the commander stands at the ern under a pent-house covered with tapestry, bearing his shield, and olding his leader's truncheon. A close examination of the drawing eems to show that there are two men to each oar; we know from other ources that several men were sometimes put to each oar. The difference costume between the soldiers and the sailors is conspicuous. The former e men-at-arms in full armour—one on the forecastle is very distinctly own; the sailors are entirely unarmed, except the man at the stroke-ar, probably an officer, who wears an ordinary hat of the period, the rest ear the hood drawn over the head. The ship in the same illustration is n ordinary ship of burden, filled with knights and men-at-arms; the umpeters at the stern indicate that the commander of the fleet is n board this ship; he will be seen amidships, with his visor raised nd his face towards the spectator, with shield on arm and truncheon in and.

If the reader is curious to see illustrations of the details of a naval ombat, there are a considerable number to be found in the illuminated ISS.; as in MS. Nero, D. iv., at folio 214, of the latter part of the irteenth century; in some tolerably clearly drawn in the "Chronique e S. Denis" (Royal, 20, cvii.), of the time of our Richard II., at folio 18, nd again at folio 189 v. Other representations of ships occur at folios 5, 26 v., 83, 136 v. (a bridge of boats), 189 v., and 214 of the same MS.

These ships continued to a late period to be small compared with our otion of a ship, and most rude in their arrangements. They were great ndecked boats, with a cabin only in the bows, beneath the raised plat-rm which formed the forecastle; and the crew of the largest ships was sually from twenty-five to thirty men. An illumination in the MS. of roissart's Chronicle (Harl. 4,379), folio 104 v., shows a ship, in which king and his suite are about to embark, from such a point of view that e see the interior of the ship in the perspective, and find that there is a abin only in the prow. The earliest notice of cabins occurs in the year D. 1228, when a ship was sent to Gascony with some effects of the

king's, and 4*s.* 6*d.* was paid for making a chamber in the same ship the king's wardrobe, &c. In A.D. 1242 the king and queen went



Ship of Richard Earl of Warwick.

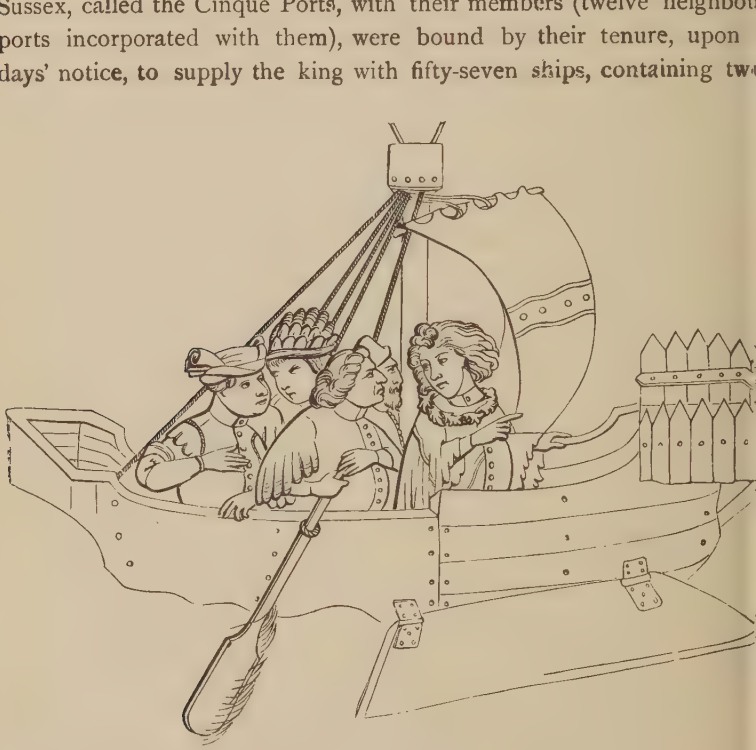
Gascony; and convenient chambers were ordered to be built in the s for their majesties' use, which were to be wainscoted—like that proba in Earl Richard of Warwick's ship in the present woodcut. This engrav

ken from Rouse's MS. Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick ritish Museum, Julius, E. IV.), of the latter part of the fourteenth cen- ry, gives a very clear representation of a ship and its boat. The earl is tting out on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In the foreground we e him with his pilgrim's staff in hand, stepping into the boat which is to rry him to his ship lying at anchor in the harbour. The costume of the ilors is illustrated by the men in the boat. The vessel is a ship of rden, but such a one as kings and great personages had equipped for eir own uses; resembling an ordinary merchant-ship in all essentials, t fitted and furnished with more than usual convenience and sump- ousness. In Earl Richard's ship the sail is emblazoned with his arms, d the pennon, besides the red cross of England, has his badges of the ar and ragged staff; the ragged staff also appears on the castle at the ast-head. The castle, which all ships of this age have at the stern, is in s case roofed in and handsomely ornamented, and no doubt formed the te apartment of the earl. There is also a castle at the head of the p, though it is not very plainly shown in the drawing. It consists of a sed platform, the round-headed entrance to the cabin beneath it is seen the picture; the two bulwarks also which protect it at the sides are ible, though their meaning is not at first sight obvious. A glance at e forecastle of the other ships in our illustrations will enable the reader understand its construction and use. Besides the boat which is to nvey the earl on board, another boat will be seen hanging at the ship's arter.

The next woodcut is taken from the interesting MS. in the British useum (Add. 24,189, f. 3 v.), from which we have borrowed other strations, containing pictures of subjects from the travels of Sir John ndeville. We have introduced it to illustrate two peculiarities: the t is the way of steering by a paddle passed through a gummet of rope, l, we see, in use in the latter part of the fourteenth century, long after rudder had been introduced; and the use of lee-boards to obviate the way of the ship, and make it hold its course nearer to the wind. The n, small, raised castle in the stern is here empty, and the forecastle is iously defended by a palisade, instead of the ordinary bulwarks.

Another representation of the use of lee-boards occurs at folio 5 of same MS.

But though the royal navy was small, as we have said, in case of there was a further naval force available. The ancient ports of Kent Sussex, called the Cinque Ports, with their members (twelve neighbou ports incorporated with them), were bound by their tenure, upon days' notice, to supply the king with fifty-seven ships, containing tw



Sir J. Mandeville on his Voyage to Palestine.

one men and a boy in each ship, for fifteen days, once in the year, at own expense, if their service was required. Thus *e.g.* a mandate o 18th Rich. II., addressed to John de Beauchamp, Constable of I Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports, after reciting this obliga requires fifty-seven ships, each having a master and twenty men armed and arrayed to meet him at Bristol; stating further, that a

expiration of the fifteen days the ships and men should be at the king's own charges and pay, so long as he should have the use of them, viz., the master of each ship to have 6*d.*, the constable 6*d.*, and each of the other men 3*d.*, per day.

In the year A.D. 1205 we have a list of royal galleys and vessels of war ready for service; and it is instructive to see where they were stationed: there were at London 5, Newhaven 2, Sandwich 3, Romney 4, Rye 2, Winchelsea 2, Shoreham 5, Southampton 2, Exeter 2, Bristol 3, Ipswich 2, Dunwich 5, Lyme 5, Yarmouth 3, in Ireland 5, at Gloucester 1—total 51; and the Cinque Ports furnished 52; so that there were ready for sea more than 100 galleys or "men-of-war."

If the occasion required a greater force than that which the Cinque Ports were required to furnish, the king was at liberty to issue his royal mandate, and impress merchant ships. Thus, in May, 1206 A.D., the Barons of the Cinque Ports were commanded to be at Portsmouth by a certain date with all the service they owed; and writs were also issued to all such merchants, masters, and seamen, as might meet the king's messengers on the sea, to repair to Portsmouth, and enter the king's service; and the royal galleys were sent to cruise at sea to arrest ships and send them in. Again, in A.D. 1442, the Commons in Parliament stated the necessity of having an armed force upon the sea, and pointed out the number of ships and men that it would be proper to employ: viz., eight ships with fore-stages carrying 150 men each, and that there should be attendant upon each ship a barge carrying eighty men, and a balynfer carrying forty men; and that four spynes, or pinnaces, carrying twenty-five men each, would be necessary. The Commons also pointed out the individual ships which it recommended to be obtained to compose this force: viz., at Bristol the *Nicholas of the Tower*, and *Katherine of Burtons*; at Dartmouth the Spanish ship that was the Lord Poyntz's, and Sir Philip Courtenay's great ship. In the port of London two great ships, one called *Trinity*, and the other *Thomas*. At Hull a great ship called Taverner's, the name *Grace-dieu*. At Newcastle a great ship called *The George*. They also state where the barges, balynfers, and pinnaces may be obtained. Some of these may have been royal ships, but not all of them. Of the

Grace-dieu of Hull, we know from Rymer (xi., 258) that John Taverner Hull, mariner, having made a ship as large as a great carrack, or larg had granted to him that the said ship, by reason of her unusual magnitu should be named the *Grace-dieu* carrack, and enjoy certain privileges trade.

On a great emergency, a still more sweeping impressment of the m cantile fleet was made: *e.g.*, Henry V., in his third year, directed Nicho Manslyt, his sergeant-at-arms, to arrest all ships and vessels in every p in the kingdom, of the burden of twenty tons and upwards, for the kin service; and Edward IV., in his fourteenth year, made a similar seizure all ships of over sixteen tons burden. On the other hand, the king hi out his ships to merchants when they were not in use. Thus, in 12 A.D., John Blancboilly had the custody of King Henry III.'s great sh called the *Queen*, for his life, to trade wherever he pleased, paying annual rent of eighty marks; and all his lands in England were charg with the fulfilment of the contract. In 1242 directions were given surrender the custody of the king's galleys in Ireland to the sailors Waterford, Drogheda, and Dungaroon, to trade with in what way th could, taking security for their rent and restoration.

The royal ships, however, maintained the police of the seas very in ciently, and a *petite guerre* seems to have been carried on continu between the ships of different countries, and even between the ships different seaports; while downright piracy was not at all uncomm When these injuries were inflicted by the ships of another nation, injured men often sought redress through their own government from government of the people who had injured them, and the mediæval gove ments generally took up warmly any such complaints. But the mercha not unfrequently took the law into their own hands. In the twelfth c tury, *e.g.*, it happened to a merchant of Berwick, Cnut by name, that of his ships, having his wife on board, was seized by a piratical Ear Orkney, and burnt. Cnut spent 100 marks in having fourteen st vessels suitably equipped to go out and punish the offender. And so as 1378 a sort of private naval war was carried on between John Mer a merchant of Perth, and John Philpott of London. Mercer's father

for some time given assistance to the French by harassing the merchant ships of England; and in 1377, being driven by foul weather on the Yorkshire coast, he was caught, and imprisoned in Scarborough Castle. Thereupon the son carried on the strife. Collecting a little fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish ships, he captured several English merchantmen off Scarborough, slaying their commanders, putting their crews in chains, and appropriating their cargoes. Philpott, the mayor of London, at his own cost, collected a number of vessels, put in them 1,000 armed men, and sailed for the north. Within a few weeks he had retaken the captured vessels, had effectually beaten their captors, and, in his turn, had seized fifteen Spanish ships laden with wine, which came in his way. On his return to London he was summoned before the council to answer for his conduct in taking an armed force to sea without the king's leave. But he boldly told the council: "I did not expose myself, my money, and my men to the dangers of the sea that I might deprive you and your colleagues of your knightly fame, nor that I might win any for myself, but in pity for the misery of the people and the country, which from being a noble realm with dominion over other nations, has through your supineness become exposed to the ravages of the vilest race, and since you would not lift a hand in its defence, I exposed myself and my property for the safety and deliverance of our country."

The ships of the Cinque Ports seem to have been at frequent feud with those of the other ports of the kingdom (see Matthew Paris under A.D. 1242). For example, in 1321 Edward II. complained of the great dissension and discord which existed between the people of the privileged Cinque Ports and the men and mariners of the western towns of Poole, Weymouth, Melcombe, Lyme, Southampton, &c.; and of the homicide, depredation, ship-burning, and other evil acts resulting therefrom. But place of taking vigorous measures to repress these disorders, the king ld not apparently find himself able to do more than issue a proclamation ainst them.

When so loose a morality prevailed among seafaring men, and the lice of the seas was so badly maintained, it follows almost as a matter of urse that piracy should flourish. The people of Brittany, and especially

the men of St. Malo, at one time were accustomed to roam the sea as t
old sea-kings did, plundering merchant-ships, making descents on
coasts of England, exacting contributions and ransoms from the tow
In the time of Alfred it would seem by one of his laws as if Engl
vessels sometimes pillaged their own coasts.*

About the year 1242 a Sir William de Marish, who was accused
murder and treason, took refuge in the Isle of Lundy, whence he robb
the merchantmen passing to and fro, and made descents on the coast.
was building a galley in which to carry on his piracies when he was tak
and hanged.

The spirit that lingered to very recent times among the "wreckers"
remote spots on our coast seems to have prevailed largely in the days
which we are writing. A foreigner was regarded as a "natural enemy," a
his ships and goods as a legitimate prize, when they could be seized w
impunity. So in 1227 A.D. we find a mariner named Dennis committed
Newgate for being present when a Spanish ship was plundered and her c
slain at Sandwich. In the same year the inhabitants of some towns in Nor
were accused of robbing a Norwegian ship. And, to give a later exam
in 1470 some Spanish merchants applied to King Edward IV. for c
pensation for the loss of seven vessels, alleged to have been piratic
taken from them by the people of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Plymouth,
Jersey. Yet there is a Saxon law as early as King Ethelred, which g
immunities to merchant ships, even in time of war, which the Counc
Paris a few years ago hardly equalled:—"If a merchant ship, even
belonged to an enemy, entered any port in England, she was to h
'frith,' that is peace, and freedom from molestation, provided it was
driven or chased into port; but even if it were chased, and it reached
frith burgh, and the crew escaped into the burgh, then the crew
whatever they brought with them were to have 'frith.'"

The shipping of the time of Henry VIII. is admirably illustrated
Holbein's famous painting at Hampton Court. The great vessel of
reign, the *Henri Grace à Dieu*, is also illustrated in the *Archæologia*.

* Sir Harris Nicholas' "History of the British Navy," vol. i. p. 21.

these subjects are so well-known, or so easily accessible, that we do not think it necessary to reproduce them here. In the MS. Aug. 1, will be found a large size drawing of a galley intended to be built for King Henry VIII.

The discovery of the sea-passage to India, and of the new world, opened up to commerce a new career of heroic adventure and the prospect of fabulous wealth. England was not backward in entering upon this course. In truth, although Sebastian Cabot was not an Englishman by birth, we claim the honour of his discoveries for England, inasmuch as he was resident among us, and was fitted out from Bristol, at the cost of English merchants, on his voyages of discovery. It was in this career—which was part discover, party conquest, part commerce—that our Hawkinses, and Drakes, and Frobishers, and Raleighs were trained. And besides those historic names, there were scores of men who fitted out ships and entered upon the roads these pioneers had opened up, and completed their discoveries, and created the commerce whose possibility they had indicated.

The limitation of our subject to the mediæval period forbids us to enter further upon this tempting theme. But we may complete our brief series of illustrations of merchant shipping by giving a picture of one of the gallant little ships—little, indeed, compared with the ships which are now employed in our great lines of sea-traffic—in which those heroes accomplished their daring voyages. The woodcut is a reproduction from the frontispiece of one of Hulsius' curious tracts on naval affairs, and represents the ship *Victoria*, in which Magellan sailed round the world, passing through the straits to which he gave his name. The epitaph that the author has subjoined to the engraving tells briefly the story of the famous ship :—

> "Prima ego vel*i*volvis ambivi cursibus orbem
> Magellane novo te duce ducta freto.
> Ambivi meritoque dicor *Victoria!* Sunt mihi
> Vela, alæ, precium, gloria, pugna, mare."

The ship, it will be seen, is not very different in general features from those of the Middle Ages which we have been considering. It has the

high prow and stern with their castles, it has shields outside the bulwar in imitation of the way in which, as we have seen in former illustratio

The Ship Victoria.

the mediæval men-at-arms hung their shields over the bulwark of the sh in which they sailed. But it has decks (apparently two), and is arm with cannon at the bows and stern.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIAL POSITION OF THE MEDIÆVAL MERCHANTS.

THOUGH the commerce of England has now attained to such vast dimensions, and forms so much larger a proportion of the national wealth and greatness than at any former period, yet we are inclined to think that, in the times of which we write, the pursuit of commerce held a higher and more honourable place in the esteem of all classes than it does with us.

It is true that one class was then more distinctly separated from another, by costume and some external habits of life; the knight and the franklin, the monk and the priest, the trader and the peasant, always carried the badges of their position upon them; and we, with our modern notions, are apt to think that the man who was marked out by his very costume as a trader must have been "looked down upon" by what we call the higher classes of society. No doubt something of this feeling existed; but not, we think, to the same extent as now. Trade itself was not then so meanly considered. Throughout the Middle Ages the upper classes were themselves engaged in trade in various ways. In the disposal of the produce of his estates the manorial lord engaged in trade, and purchased at fairs and markets the stores he needed for himself and his numerous dependants. Noblemen and bishops, abbots and convents, nay kings themselves, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had ships which, commanded and manned by their servants, traded for their profit with foreign countries. In the thirteenth century the Cistercian monks had become the greatest wool-merchants in the kingdom. In the fifteenth century Edward IV. carried on a considerable commerce for his own

profit. Just as now, when noblemen and gentlemen commonly engage agriculture, and thus farming comes to be considered less vulgar th trade, so, then, when dignified ecclesiastics, noblemen, and kings engaged trade, it must have helped to soften caste prejudices against the pro sional pursuit of commerce.*

A considerable number of the traders of the fourteenth and fiftee centuries were cadets of good families. Where there were half a do sons in a knightly family, the eldest succeeded to the family estate a honours: of the rest, one might become a lawyer; another might hav religious vocation, and, as a secular priest, take the family living, or obt a stall in the choir of the neighbouring monastery; a third might pr the profession of arms, and enter into the service of some great lord o the king, or find employment for his sword and lance, and pay for him and the dozen men who formed the "following of his lance," in the w which seldom ceased in one part of Europe or another; another might engage in trade, either in a neighbouring town or in one of great commercial cities of the time, as Bristol, Norwich, or London.†

The leading men of the trading class stood side by side with the lead men of the other classes. They were consulted by the king on the affa of the kingdom, were employed with bishops and nobles on fore embassies, were themselves ennobled. And the greatness which m attain in any class reflects honour on the whole class. The Archbisho Canterbury's high position gives social consideration to the poor cura who may one day also be archbishop; and the Lord Chancellor's to now briefless barrister who may attain to the woolsack. The great

* In our own day we see the scorn of trade being rapidly softened down. Many of commercial houses are almost as important as a department of State, and are conducte much the same way. The principals of these houses are often considerable landhol besides, have been educated at the public schools and universities, and are fra received as equals in all societies. On the other hand, the nobility are putting t younger sons into trade. At this moment, we believe, the brother-in-law of a prin of England is in a mercantile house.

† *Avarice*, in "Piers Ploughman's Vision," v. 255, says:—

> "I have ymade many a knyht both mercer and draper
> That payed nevere for his prentishode not a paire of gloves."

towns of the German Empire reflected honour on every town of Europe; and the merchant princes of Venice and Florence and the Low Countries on the humblest member of their calling.

But what, perhaps, more than anything else tended to maintain the social consideration of traders, was their incorporation into wealthy and powerful guilds; and the civil freedom and political weight of the towns. The rather common-looking man, in a plain cloth gown and flat cap, jogging along the high road on a hack, with great saddle-bags, is not to be compared in appearance with the knight who prances past him on a spirited charger, with a couple of armed servants at his heels; and the trader pulls his horse to the side of the road, and touches his bonnet as the cavalcade passes him in a cloud of dust; but the knight glances at his fellow-traveller's hood as he passes, and recognises in him a member of the great Guild of Merchants of the Staple, and returns his courtesy The nobleman, jostling at court against a portly citizen in a furred gown with a short dagger and inkhorn at his belt, sees in him an alderman of one of those great towns by whose help the king maintains the balance of power against the feudal aristocracy. Yet, after all, why should the merchant be "a rather common-looking man," and the alderman a "portly citizen"? We are all apt to let our sober sense be fooled by our imagination. Thus we are apt to have in our minds abstract types of classes of men: our ideal knight is gallant in bearing, gay in apparel, chivalrous in character; while our ideal merchant is prosaic and closefisted in character, plain and uncourtly in manner and speech. A moment's thought would be enough to remind us that Nature does not anticipate or adapt herself to class distinctions: the knight and the merchant, we have seen, might be brothers, reared up in the same old manor-house; and the elder son might be naturally a clown, though fortune made him Sir Hugh; while the cadet might be full of intelligence and spirit, dignified and courteous, though fortune had put a flat cap instead of a helmet on his head, and a pen instead of a lance into his hand.

Our plan limits us to mere glances at the picturesque outside aspect of things. Let us travel across England, and see what we can learn on our subject from the experiences of our journey. A right pleasant journey,

too, in the genial spring-time or early summer. It must be taken horse-back; for, though sometimes we shall find ourselves on a high between one great town and another, yet, for the most part, road is along bridle-paths, across heath and moor; through miles "greenwood;" across fords; over wide unenclosed wolds and do dotted with sheep; through valleys where oxen feed in the deep mead land; with comparatively little arable, covered with the green blade rye and barley, oats, and a little wheat—

> "Long fields of barley and of rye,
> That clothe the wold and meet the sky."

Now and then we ride through a village of cottages scattered about village-green; and see, perhaps, the parish-priest, in cassock and bire coming out of the village-church from his mass. Further on we pass moated manor-house of a country knight, or the substantial old timber-b house of a franklin, with the blue wood-smoke puffing in a volume ou the louvre of the hall, and curling away among the great oak-trees wh overshadow it. We may stay there and ask for luncheon, and be sure a hearty welcome: Chaucer tells us,

> "His table dormant in the hall alway
> Stands ready covered, all the longe day."

Then a strong castle comes in sight on a rising ground, with its pictures group of walls and towers, and the donjon-tower rising high in the mi surmounted by the banner of its lord. We seek out the monasteries their hospitable shelter at nights: they are the inns of mediæval Engla and we gaze in admiration as we approach them and enter their cou From outside we see a great enclosure-wall, over which rise the cle tories and towers of a noble minster-church; and when we have ente through the gate-house we find the cloister court, with its convent bu ings for the monks, and another court of offices, and the guest-house the entertainment of travellers, and the abbot's-house—a separate establ ment, with a great hall and chambers and chapel, like the manor-ho of a noble; so that, surrounded by its wall, with strong entrance-towers, monastery looks like a great castle or a little town; and we doff our hats

ne dignified-looking monk who is ambling out of the great gate on his mule, s to the representative of the noble community which has erected so rand a house, and maintains there its hospitalities and charities, schools nd hospitals, and offers up, seven times a day in the choir, a glorious ervice of praise to Almighty God, and of prayer for the welfare of His hurch and people. But from time to time, also, we approach and ride rough the towns, which are studded as thickly over the land as castles monasteries. Each surrounded by a fair margin of common meadow-nd, out of which rise the long line of strong walls with angle towers, with cturesque machicolations and overhanging pent-houses; and the great te-towers with moat, drawbridge, and barbican. Over the wall numerous urch-towers and spires are seen rising from a forest of gables, making a odly show. We enter, and find wide streets of handsome picturesque uses, with abundance of garden and orchard ground behind them, and ildhalls and chapels, the head-quarters of the various guilds and companies. ne traders are wealthy, and indulge in conveniences which are rare in e franklin's house, and even the lord's castle; and live a more refined ode of life than the old rude, if magnificent, feudal life. Look at the tent of the town, at its strong defences; estimate the wealth it contains; nk of the clannish spirit of its guilds; see the sturdy burghers, who rn out at the sound of the town-bell, in half armour, with pike and bow, man the walls; consider the chiefs of the community, men of better edu-tion, wider experience of the world, deeper knowledge of political affairs, an most of their countrymen, many of them of the "gentleman" class birth and breeding, men of perfect self-respect, and of high public spirit. our journey terminates at one of the seaports, as Hull, or Lynn, or ver, or Hythe, or Bristol, we find—in addition to the usual well-walled wn, with houses and noble churches and guildhalls—a harbour full of rchant-ships, and exchanges full of foreign merchants; and we soon rn that these are the links which join England to the rest of the world a period of peace, and enable her in time of war to make her power beyond the seas. Many of these towns have inherited their walls and ir civic freedom from Roman times: they stood like islands amid the od of the Saxon invasion; they received their charters from Norman

kings, and maintained them against Norman barons. Each of them
little republic amidst the surrounding feudalism; each citizen is a free
when everybody else is the sworn liege-man of some feudal lord.

These experiences of our ride across England will have left their s
impressions on our minds. The castles will have impressed our minds
a sense of the feudal power and chivalric state of the territorial class

Entry of Queen Isabel of Bavaria into Paris, A.D. 1389.

the monasteries with admiration of the grandeur and learning and
ficence and sanctity of the religious orders; and the towns with a f
of solid respect for the wealth and power and freedom and civilisat
the trader class of the people.

Our first illustration forms part of a large picture in the great Ha
MS. of Froissart's Chronicle (Harl. 2,397, f. 3), and represents Isa

avaria, Queen of Charles VII., making her entry into Paris attended by ble dames and lords of France, on Sunday, 20th of August, in the year our Lord 1389. There was a great crowd of spectators, Froissart tells us, d the *bourgeois* of Paris, twelve hundred, all on horseback, were ranged in irs on each side of the road, and clothed in a livery of gowns of baudekyn een and red. The Queen, seated in her canopied litter, occupies the middle the picture, in robe and mantle of blue powdered with *fleur-de-lis*, three blemen walking on each side in their robes and coronets. The page and dies, who follow on horseback, are not given in our woodcut. The ueen has just arrived at the gate of the city; through the open door ay be seen a bishop (? the Archbishop of Paris) in a cope of blue pow- ered with gold *fleur-de-lis*, holding a gold and jewelled box, which per- aps contains the chrism for her coronation. On the wall overlooking e entrance is the king with ladies of the court, and perched on the angle the wall is the court jester in his cap and bauble. On the left of the cture are the burgesses of Paris; their short gowns are of green and red described; the hats, which hang over their shoulders, are black. On e opposite side of the road (not represented in the cut) is another party burgesses, who wear their hats, the bands falling on each side of the ce. In the background are the towers and spires of the city, and the est front of Notre-Dame, rising picturesquely above the city-wall.

Some of the merchant-princes of the Middle Ages have left a name hich is still known in history, or popular in legend. First, there is the e la Pole family, whose name is connected with the history of Hull. yke-upon-Hull was a little town belonging to the convent of Selby, hen Edward III. saw its capabilities and bought it of the monks, called Kingston-upon-Hull, and, by granting trading and civil privileges to it, duced merchants to settle there. De la Pole, a merchant of the neigh- uring port of Ravensern, was one of the earliest of these immigrants; d Hull owes much of its greatness to his commercial genius and public irit. Under his inspiration bricks were introduced from the Low untries to build its walls and the great church: much of the latter yet mains. He rose to be esteemed the greatest merchant in England. dward III. honoured him by visiting him at his house in Hull, and in

time made him Chief Baron of his Exchequer, and a Knight Bann
In the following reign we find him engaged, together with the most di
guished men in the kingdom, in affairs of state and foreign embas
His son, who also began life as a merchant at Hull, was mad
Richard II. Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor. In the end a
alliance raised the merchant's children to the height of power ; and de
of a still more daring ambition at length brought about their head
fall and ruin.

William Cannynges, of Bristol, was another of these great merch
On his monument in the magnificent church of St. Mary Redcliff
which he was the founder, it is recorded that on one occasion Edward
seized shipping of his to the amount of 2,470 tons, which included
of 400, 500, and even 900 tons.

Richard Whittington, the hero of the popular legend, was a Lo
merchant, thrice Lord Mayor. He was not, however, of the hu
origin stated by the legend, but a cadet of the landed family of Whitting
in Gloucestershire. What is the explanation of the story of his ca
not been satisfactorily made out by antiquaries. Munificence was o
the characteristics of these great merchants. De la Pole, we have
built the church at Hull ; Cannynges founded one of the grandest p
churches yet remaining in all England ; Whittington founded the Co
of the Holy Spirit and St. Mary, a charitable foundation which has
ceased to exist. Sir John Crosby was an alderman of London in
reign of Edward IV., and allied his family with the highest nobility.
house still remains in Bishopsgate, the only one left of the great
merchants' houses : Stowe describes it as very large and beautiful, an
highest at that time in London. Richard III. took up his residence
received his adherents there, when preparing for his usurpation o
crown.

Monuments remaining to this day keep alive the memory of other
merchants, which would otherwise have perished. In the series of m
mental brasses, several of the earliest and most sumptuous are memo
of merchants. There was an engraver of these monuments livin
England in the middle of the fourteenth century, whose works in

yle of art have not been subsequently surpassed: Gough calls him the Cellini of the fourteenth century." He executed a grand effigy for homas Delamere, abbot of St. Alban's Abbey; and the same artist exeited two designs, no less sumptuous and meritorious as works of art, for o merchants of the then flourishing town of Lynn, in Norfolk. One is Adam de Walsokne, "formerly burgess of Lynn," who died in 1349 A.D., d Margaret his wife; it contains very artistically drawn effigies of the two ersons commemorated, surmounted by an ornamental canopy on a diared field. The other monumental brass represents Robert Braunche, A.D. 64, and his two wives. A feature of peculiar interest in this design is a presentation, running along the bottom, of an entertainment which aunche, when mayor of Lynn, gave to King Edward III. There was ll a third brass at Lynn, of similar character, of Robert Attelathe—now, as! lost. Another monument, apparently by the same artist, exists at ewark, to the memory of Alan Fleming, a merchant, who died in 61 A.D.

Hundreds of churches yet bear traces of the munificence of these ediæval traders. The noble churches which still exist in what are now mparatively small places, in Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, are onuments of the merchants of the staple who lived in those eastern unties; and monuments, and merchants' marks, and sometimes inscripns cut in stone or worked in flint-work in the fabrics themselves, afford ta from which the local antiquary may glean something of their history. any interesting traces of mediæval traders' houses remain too in out-the-way places, where they seem quite overlooked. The little town of ggeshall, for example, is full of interesting bits of domestic architecture—the traces of the houses of the "Peacockes" and other families, erchants of the staple and clothmakers, who made it a flourishing town the fifteenth century; the monumental brasses of some of them main in the fine perpendicular church, which they probably rebuilt. Or, go to the other side of the kingdom, at the little town of Northleach, ong the Cotswold Hills, is a grand church, with evidences in the sculpre and monuments that the wool-merchants there contributed largely to building. It contains an interesting series of small monumental

brasses, which preserve their names and costumes, and those of t wives and children; and the merchants' marks which were painted on t woolpacks appear here as honourable badges on their monuments. Tl are traces of their old houses in the town.

A general survey of all these historical facts and all these antiqua remains will confirm the assertion with which we began this chapter, tha least from the early part of the fourteenth century downwards, the media traders earned great wealth and spent it munificently, possessed consi able political influence, and occupied an honourable social position be the military and ecclesiastical orders.

We must not omit to notice the illustrations which our subject derive from Chaucer's ever-famous gallery of characters. Here is merchant of the Canterbury cavalcade of merry pilgrims :—

"A merchant was there with a forked beard,
In mottély, and high on horse he sat,
And on his head a Flaundrish beaver hat,
His bote's clapsed fayre and fetisly,*
His reasons spake he full solempnely,
Sounding alway the increase of his winning,
He would the sea were kept, for any thing,
Betwixen Middleburgh and Orewell.
Well could he in exchanges sheldes † sell,
This worthy man full well his wit beset;
There weste no wight that he was in debt,
So steadfastly didde he his governance
With his bargeines and with his chevisance,‡
Forsooth he was a worthy man withal;
But, sooth to say, I n'ot how men him call." §

Of the trader class our great author gives us also some examples :—

"An haberdasher and a carpenter,
A webber, a dyer, and a tapiser,
Were all yclothed in one livery,
Of a solempne and great fraternitie,
Full fresh and new their gear y-piked was
Their knives were ychaped, not with brass.
But all with silver wrought full clene and well,
Their girdles and their pouches every deal.

* Neatly, properly.
‡ Agreement for borrowing money.
† Shields, *i.e. écus*, French crowns.
§ Know not his name.

Well seemed each of them a fair burgess
To sitten in a gild-hall on the dais.
Each one for the wisdom that he can,
Was likely for to be an alderman.
For chattles hadden they enough and rent,
And eke their wives would it well assent,
And elles certainly they were to blame,
It is full fair to be ycleped madame,
And for to go to vigils all before,
And have a mantle royally upbore."

The figures on the next page from a monument to John Field, Alderman of London, and his son, are interesting and characteristic. Mr. Waller, from whose work on monumental brasses the woodcut is taken, has been able to discover something of the history of Alderman Field. John Field, senior, was born about the beginning of the fifteenth century, but nothing is known of his early life. In 1449 he had clearly risen to commercial eminence in London, since he was in that year appointed one of fifteen commissioners to treat with those of the Duke of Burgundy concerning the commercial interests of the two countries in general, and specially to frame regulations for the traffic in wool and wool-fells brought to the staple at Calais. Of these commissioners five were of London, three of Boston, three of Hull, and one of Ipswich. These names, says Mr. Waller, probably comprise the chief mercantile wealth and intelligence in the eastern ports of the kingdom at this period. In 1454 he was made sheriff, and subsequently was elected alderman, but never served the office of mayor; which, says the writer, may be accounted for by the fact that in the latter part of his life he was afflicted with bodily sickness, and on that ground in 1463 obtained a grant from the then lord mayor, releasing him from all civic services. The alderman acquired large landed estates in Kent and Hertfordshire, in which he was succeeded by his eldest son John, the original of the second effigy, who only survived his father the short term of three years.

The brasses have been inlaid with colour; the alderman's gown of the latter with red enamel, and its fur-lining indicated by white metal; the shield of arms of the son is also coloured according to its proper heraldic tinctures—*gules*, between three eagles displayed *argent*, *guetté de sangue*, a

fesse *or*. The unfinished inscription runs, "Here lyeth John Fe sometyme alderman of London, a merchant of the stapull of Caleys, t which deceased the xvj day of August, in the yere of our Lord G mcccclxxiiij. Also her' lyeth John his son, squire, y^e^ which deceased iiij day of May y^e^ yere of" . . . . The monumental slab is ornament

Monumental Brass of Alderman Field and his Son, A.D. 1474.

with four shields of arms: the first of the city of London, the second the merchants of the staple, the third bears the alderman's merchant's-ma and the fourth the arms which appear on the tabard of his son, the esqu to whom, perhaps, they had been specially granted by the College Arms. The father's costume is a long gown edged with fur, a leat

girdle from which hang his gypcire (or purse) and rosary, over which is worn his alderman's gown. The son wears a full suit of armour of the time of Edward IV., with a tabard of his arms. The execution of the brass is unusually careful and excellent.

The third woodcut, from the Harleian MS. 4,379, f. 64, represents the execution, in Paris, of a famous captain of robbers, Aymerigol Macel.

An Execution in Paris.

The scaffold is enclosed by a hoarding; at the nearer corners are two friars, one in brown and one in black, probably a Franciscan and a Dominican; the official, who stands with his hands resting on his staff superintending the executioner, has a gown of red with sleeves lined with white fur, his bonnet is black turned up also with white fur. In the background are the timber houses on one side of the place, with the

people looking out of their windows; a signboard will be seen standi forth from one of the houses. The groups of people in the distan and those in the foreground give the costumes of the ordinary dwelle in a fourteenth-century city. The man on the left has a pink sho gown, trimmed with white fur; his hat, the two ends of a liripi hanging over his shoulders, and his purse and his hose, are blac The man on his right has a long blue gown and red hat and liripipe; th man between them and a little in front, a brown long gown and black ha The man on horseback on the left wears a very short green gown, re hose, and black hat; the footman on his left, a short green gown and re hat and liripipe; and the man on his left, a black jacket and black hi fringed. The man on horseback, with a foot-boy behind holding on t the horse's tail, has a pink long gown, black hat and liripipe, purse, an girdle; the one on the right of the picture, a long blue gown with red ha liripipe, and purse. Just behind him (unhappily not included in the woo cut) is a touch of humour on the part of the artist. His foot-boy stealing an apple out of the basket of an apple-woman, who wears a blu gown and red hood, with the liripipe tucked under her girdle; she has basket of apples on each arm, and another on her head. Still further the right is a horse whose rider has dismounted, and the foot-boy is sitti on the crupper behind the saddle holding the reins.

The last cut is taken from the painted glass at Tournay of the fifteen century, and represents *marchands en gros*. This illustration of a warehou with the merchant and his clerk, and the men and the casks and bal and the great scales, in full tide of business, is curious and interesting.

Chaucer once more, in the "Shipman's Tale," gives us an illustration our subject. Speaking of a merchant of St. Denys, he says:—

> "Up into his countour house goth he,
> To reken with himselvin, wel may be,
> Of thilke yere how that it with him stood,
> And how that he dispended had his good,
> And if that he encreased were or non.
> His bookes and his bagges many one
> He layeth before him on his counting bor...
> Ful riche was his tresor and his hord;

For which ful fast his countour done he shet,
And eke he n'olde no man shuld him let
Of his accountes for the mene time;
And thus he sat till it was passed prime."

Marchands en Gros, Fifteenth Century.

The counting-board was a board marked with squares, on which counters were placed in such a way as to facilitate arithmetical operations.

We have also a picture of him setting out on a business journey attended by his apprentice:—

"But so bifell this marchant on a day
Shope him to maken ready his array
Toward the town of Brugges for to fare
To byen there a portion of ware.
* * * * *
The morrow came, and forth this marchant rideth
To Flaundersward, his prentis wel him gideth,
Til he came into Brugges merily.
Now goth this marchant fast and bisily
About his nede, and bieth and creanceth;
He neither playeth at the dis ne danceth,
But as a marchant shortly for to tell
He ledeth his lif, and ther I let him dwell."

CHAPTER IV.

MEDIÆVAL TRADE.

IT is difficult at first to believe it possible that the internal trade of mediæval England was carried on chiefly at great annual fairs for the wholesale business, at weekly markets for the chief towns, and by means of itinerant traders, of whom the modern pedlar is the degenerate representative, for the length and breadth of the country. In order to understand the possibility, we must recall to our minds how small comparatively was the population of the country. It was about two millions at the Norman Conquest, it had hardly increased to four millions by the end of the fifteenth century, it was only five millions in the time of William III. Nearly every one of our towns and villages then existed, but the London, and Bristol, and Norwich, and York of the fourteenth century, though they were relatively important places in the nation, were not one-tenth of the size of the towns into which they have grown. Manchester, and Leeds, and Liverpool, and a score of other towns, existed then, but they were mere villages; and the country population was thinly scattered over a half-reclaimed, unenclosed, pastoral country.

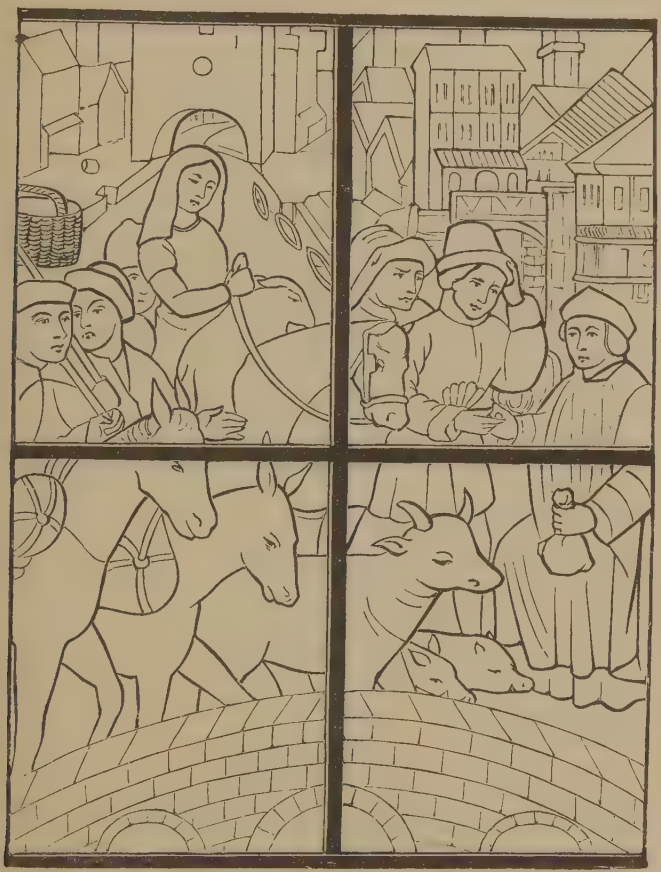
To begin with the fairs. The king exercised the sole power of granting the right to hold a fair. It was sought by corporations, monasteries, and manorial lords, in order that they might profit, first by the letting of ground to the traders who came to dispose of their wares, next by the tolls which were levied on all merchandise brought for sale, and on the sales themselves; and then indirectly by the convenience of getting a near market for the produce the neighbourhood had to sell, and for the goods it desired to buy.

The annexed woodcut, from the MS. Add. 24,189, represents pas gers paying toll on landing at a foreign port, and perhaps belongs strictness to an earlier part of our subject. The reader will notice

Passengers paying Toll.

picturesque custom-house officers, the landing-places, and the indicat of town architecture. The next illustration, from painted glass at Tou (from La Croix and Seré's "Moyen Age et la Renaissance") sho

group of people crossing the bridge into a town, and the collector levying the toll. The oxen and pigs, the country-wife on horseback, with a lamb laid over the front of her saddle, represent the country-people and their



Traders entering a Town.

arm-produce ; the pack-horse and mule on the left, with their flat-capped ttendant, are an interesting illustration of the itinerant trader bringing in is goods. The toll-collector seems to be, from his dress and bearing, a

rather dignified official, and the countryman recognises it by touching hat to him. The river and its wharves, and the boats moored alongs and the indication of the town gates and houses, make up a very inter ing sketch of mediæval life.

There were certain great fairs to which traders resorted from all part the country. The great fair at Nijni Novgorod, and in a lesser degree fair of Leipsic, remain to help us to realise such gatherings as Bartholor Fair used to be. Even now the great horse-fair at Horncastle, and stock-fair at Barnet, may help us to understand how it answered the pose of buyers and sellers to meet annually at one general rendezv The gathering into one centre of the whole stock on sale and the wl demand for it, was not only in other ways a convenience to buyers sellers, but especially it regulated the general prices current of all vendil and checked the capricious variations which a fluctuating local supply demand would have created in the then condition of the country anc commerce. The king sometimes, by capricious exercises of his autho in the subject of fairs, seriously interfered with the interests of those frequented them—*e.g.* by granting license to hold a new fair which in fered with one already established; by licensing a temporary fair, and bidding trade to be carried on elsewhere during its continuance. Thus 1245 A.D. Henry II. proclaimed a fair at Westminster to be held for fift days, and required all the London traders to shut up their shops and b their goods to the fair. It happened that the season was wet; few co quently came to the fair, and the traders' goods were injured by the which penetrated into their temporary tents and stalls. He repeated attempt to benefit Westminster four years afterwards, with a similar re

Of course when great crowds were gathered together for days in success and money was circulating abundantly, there would be others who wo seek a profitable market besides the great dealers in woolfels and fore produce. The sellers of ribbands and cakes would be there, purveyor food and drink for the hungry and thirsty multitude, caterers for amusement of the people, minstrels and jugglers, exhibitors of mora plays and morrice-dancers, and still less reputable people. And so, bes the men who came for serious business, there would be a mob of pleas

ekers also. The crowd of people of all ranks and classes from every part the country, with the consequent variety of costume in material, fashion, d colour—the knight's helm and coat of mail, or embroidered *jupon* and med bonnet, the lady's furred gown and jewels, the merchant's sober t of cloth, the minstrel's gay costume and the jester's motley, the monk s e and cowl, and the peasant's smockfrock, continually in motion up d down the streets of the temporary canvas town, the music of the nstrels, the cries of the traders, the loud talk and laughter of the crowd must have made up a picturesque scene, full of animation.

When the real business of the country had found other channels, the s still continued—and in many places still continue—as mere "pleasure-s;" still the temporary stalls lining the streets, and the drinking-booths d shows, preserve something of the old usages and outward aspect, ugh, it must be confessed, they are dreary, desolate relics of what the diæval fairs used to be. The fair was usually proclaimed by sound of mpet, before which ceremony it was unlawful to begin traffic, or after conclusion of the legal term for which the fair was granted. A court *pie-poudre* held its sittings for the cognizance of offences committed in fair. Many of our readers will remember the spirited description of h a fair in Sir Walter Scott's novel of "The Betrothed."

In the great towns were shops in which retail trade was daily carried on, under very different conditions from those of modern times. The ious trades seem to have been congregated together, and the trading ts of the town were more concentrated than is now the case; in both ects resembling the bazaars of Eastern towns. Thus in London the lesmen had shops in the Cheap, which resembled sheds, and many of m were simply stalls. But they did not limit themselves to their deal-s there; they travelled about the country also. The mercers dealt in s, drugs, spices, and small wares generally; their stocks being of the e miscellaneous description as that of a village-shop of the present day. station of the mercers of London was between Bow Church and lay Street, and here round the old cross of Cheap they sold their goods ttle standings or stalls, surrounded by those belonging to other trades. trade of the modern grocer was preceded by that of the pepperer,

which was often in the hands of Lombards and Italians, who dealt al drugs and spices. The drapers were originally manufacturers of cloth drape meaning to make cloth. The trade of the fishmonger was di into two branches, one of which dealt exclusively in dried fish, then a common article of food. The goldsmiths had their shops in the stre Cheap; but fraudulent traders of their craft, and not members of guild, set up shops in obscure lanes, where they sold goods of in metal. A list of the various trades and handicrafts will afford a ge idea of the trade of the town. Before the 50th of Edward III. (1376 the "mysteries" or trades of London, who elected the Common Co of the city, were thirty-two in number; but they were increased b ordinance of that year to forty-eight, which were as follows:—gro masons, ironmongers, mercers, brewers, leather-dressers, drapers, flet armourers, fishmongers, bakers, butchers, goldsmiths, skinners, cu vintners, girdlers, spurriers, tailors, stainers, plumbers, saddlers, measurers, wax-chandlers, webbers, haberdashers, barbers, tapestry-wea braziers, painters, leather-sellers, salters, tanners, joiners, cappers, p makers, pewterers, chandlers, hatters, woodmongers, fullers, s pinners, curriers, horners.

As a specimen of a provincial town we may take Colchester. A de description of this town in the reign of Edward III. shows that it conta only 359 houses, some built of mud, others of timber. None o houses had any but latticed windows. The town-hall was of stone, handsome Norman doorway. It had also a royal castle, three or religious houses—one a great and wealthy abbey—several churches was surrounded by the old Roman wall. The number of inhabitants about three thousand. Yet Colchester was the capital of a large distr country, and there were only about nine towns in England of gr importance. In the year 1301 all the movable property of the including the furniture and clothing of the inhabitants, was estim for the purpose of a taxation, to be worth £518, and the details give curious picture of the times. The tools of a carpenter consisted broad axe, value 5*d.*, another 3*d.*, an adze 2*d.*, a square 1*d.*, a *noveyn* bably a spokeshave) 1*d.*, making the total value of his tools 1*s.*

ols and stock of a blacksmith were valued at only a few shillings, the ghest being 12*s*. The stock-in-trade and household goods of a tanner re estimated at £9 17*s*. 10*d*. A mercer's stock was valued at £3, his usehold property at £2 9*s*. The trades carried on there were the enty-nine following: — Baker, barber, blacksmith, bowyer, brewer, tcher, carpenter, carter, cobbler, cook, dyer, fisherman, fuller, furrier, dler, glass-seller, glover, linen-draper, mercer and spice-seller, miller, ustard and vinegar seller, old clothes-seller, tailor, tanner, tiler, weaver,

A Goldsmith's Shop.

ood-cutter, and wool-comber. Our woodcut, from the MS. Add. 27,695, hich has already supplied us with several valuable illustrations, represents mediæval shop of a high class, probably a goldsmith's. The shopkeeper gerly bargaining with his customer is easily recognised, the shopkeeper's erk is making an entry of the transaction, and the customer's servant nds behind him, holding some of his purchases; flagons and cups and hes seem to be the principal wares; heaps of money lie on the table, hich is covered with a handsome tablecloth, and in the background are ng on a "perch," for sale, girdles, a hand-mirror, a cup, a purse, and sword. Here, from "Le Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine," in the French National brary,* is another illustration of a mediæval shop. This is a mercer's, d the merceress describes her wares in the following lines :—

* From Mr. Wright's "Domestic Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages."

"Quod sche, 'Gene* I schal the telle
Mercerye I have to selle
In boystes,† soote oynementes,‡
Therewith to don allegementes§
To ffolkes which be not gladde,
But discorded and malade.
I have kyvès, phylletys, callys,
At ffestes to hang upon walles;
Kombes no mo than nyne or ten,
Bothe for horse and eke ffor men;
Mirrours also, large and brode,
And ffor the syght wonder gode;
Off hem I have ffull greet plenté,
For ffolke that haven volunté
Byholde himselffe therynne.'"

In some provincial towns, as Nottingham, the names of several o streets bear witness to an aggregation of traders of the same ca

French National Library.

Bridlesmith Gate was clearly the street in which the knights and yeo of the shire resorted for their horse-furniture and trappings, and in open stalls of Fletcher Gate sheaves of arrows were hung up for sa the green-coated foresters of neighbouring Sherwood. The only trac

* If. † Boxes. ‡ Sweet ointments. § To give relief.

e custom we have left is in the butcheries and shambles which exist in any of our towns, where the butchers' stalls are still gathered together in ie street or building.

But the greater part of the trade of the towns was transacted on market-ys. Then the whole neighbourhood flocked in, the farmers to sell their m produce, their wives and daughters with their poultry and butter and gs for the week's consumption of the citizens, and to carry back with em their town-purchases. In every market-town there was usually a de open space—the market-place—for the accommodation of this weekly ffic; in the principal towns were several market-places, appropriated to ferent kinds of produce: *e.g.* at Nottingham, besides the principal rket-place—a vast open space in the middle of the town, surrounded by erhanging houses supported on pillars, making open colonnades like ose of an Italian town—there was a "poultry" adjoining the great rket, and a "butter-cross" in the middle of a small square, in which it assumed the women displayed their butter. In an old-fashioned pro-cial market-town, the market-day is still the one day in the week on ich the streets are full of bustle and the shops of business, while on the ier days of the week the town stagnates; it must have been still more case in the old times of which we write. In some instances there ms reason to think a weekly market was held in places which had rdly any claim to be called towns—mere villages, on whose green the ghbourhood assembled for the weekly market. Round the green, per-os. a few stalls and booths were erected for the day; pedlars probably plied the shop element; and artificers from neighbouring towns came for the day, as in some of our villages now the saddler and the shoe-ker and the watchmaker attend once a week to do the makings and ndings which are required. There are still to be seen in a few old-ioned towns and remote country places market-crosses in the market-ce or on the village-green. They usually consist of a tall cross of ie, round the lower part of whose shaft a penthouse of stone or wood been erected to shelter the market-folks from rain and sun. There is n a cross at Salisbury; a good example of a village market-cross at tle Combe, in Gloucestershire, one of wood at Shelford, in Cambridge-

hire, and many others up and down the country, well worthy of be collected and illustrated by the antiquary before they are swept av Our illustration, from the painted glass at Tournay, represents a ma

A Market Scene.

scene, the women sitting on their low stools, with their baskets of go displayed on the ground before them. The female on the left seem be filling up her time by knitting ; the woman on the right is paying market dues to the collector, who, as in the cut on p. 505, is habite

clerk. The background appears to represent a warehouse, where transctions of a larger kind are going on.

But the inhabitants of rural districts were not altogether dependent n a visit to the nearest market for their purchases. The pursuit of gain nlisted the services of numerous itinerant traders, who traversed the land all directions, calling at castle and manor house, monastery, grange, nd cottage ; and by the tempting display of pretty objects, and the handy pply of little wants, brought into healthy circulation many a silver nny which would otherwise have jingled longer in the owner's *gypcire*, or sted in the hoard in the homely stocking-foot. An entry in that mine of rious information, the York Fabric Rolls, reveals an incident in the dlar's mode of dealing. It is a presentation, that is, a complaint, made the Archbishop by the churchwardens of the parish of Riccall, in orkshire, under the date 1519 A.D. They represent, in the dog-Latin of e time : "*Item, quod Calatharii* (*Anglice* Pedlars), *veniunt diebus festis in rticum ecclesiæ et ibidem vendunt mercimonium suum.*" That *Calatharii*—at is to say, Pedlars—come into the church-porch on feast-days, and ere sell their merchandise. From another entry in the same records it ems that sometimes the chapmen congregated in such numbers that the thering assumed the proportions of an irregular weekly market. Thus nong the presentations in 1416, is one from St. Michael de Berefredo, Michael-le-Belfry, in the city of York, which states, "The parishioners y that a common market of vendibles is held in the churchyard on ndays and holidays, and divers things and goods and rushes are posed there for sale." The complaint is as early as the fourth century ; we find St. Basil mentioning as one abuse of the great church-festivals, at men kept markets at these times and places under colour of making tter provision for the feasts which were kept thereat.

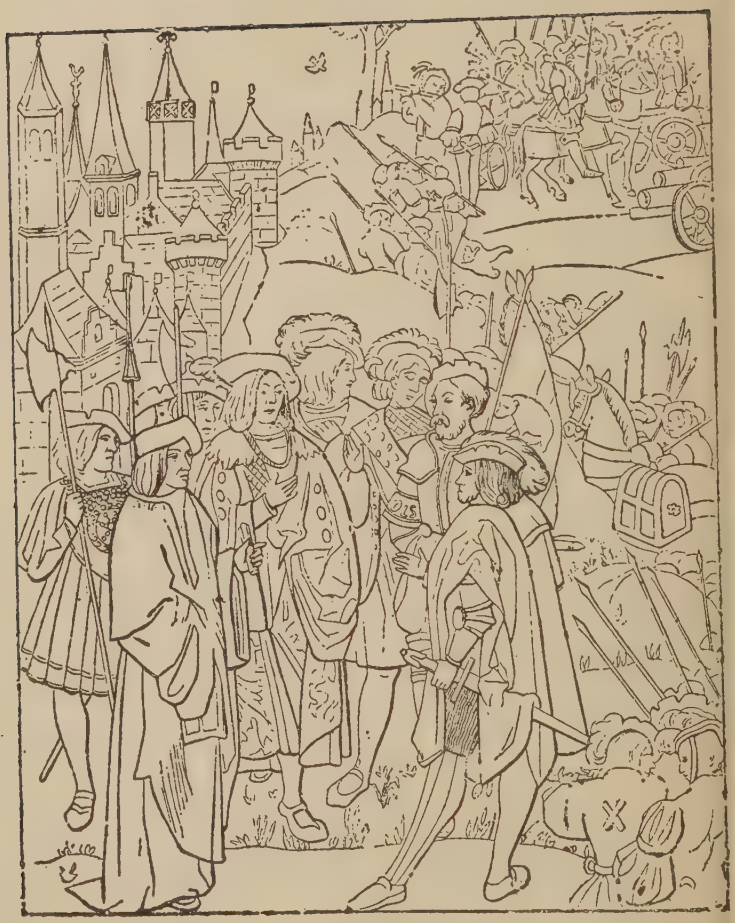
The presentation from Riccall carries us back into the old times, and ables us to realise a picturesque and curious incident in their primitive de of life. A little consideration will enable us to see how such a actice arose, and how it could be tolerated by people who had at least much respect for religion as to come to church on Sundays and lidays. When we call to mind the state of the country districts, half

reclaimed, half covered with forest and marsh and common, trave
chiefly by footpaths and bridle-roads, we shall understand how isolat
life was led by the inhabitants of the country villages and hamlets,
farmhouses and out-lying cottages. It was only on Sundays and holi
that neighbours met together. On those days the goodman mounted
of his farm-horses, put his dame behind him on a pillion, and jog
through deep and miry ways to church, while the younger and po
came sauntering along the footpaths. One may now stand in cou
churchyards on a Sunday afternoon, and watch the people coming i
directions, across the fields, under copse, and over common, climbing
rustic styles, crossing the rude bridge formed by a tree-trunk thrown
the sparkling trout-stream, till all the lines converge at the church po
And one has felt that those paths—many of them ploughed up every
and made every year afresh by the feet of the wayfarer—are among
most venerable relics of ancient times. And here among the ancient
of Wales is one which assures us that our conjecture is true: "E
habitation," it says, "ought to have two good paths (convenient rig
road), one to its church, and one to its watering-place." Very pleasa
summer these church-paths to the young folks who saunter along the
couples or in groups, but very disagreeable in wet wintery weather,
difficult at all times to the old and infirm. Another presentation o
the York Fabric Rolls, gives us a contemporary picture of these ch
paths, seen under a gloomy aspect: In A.D. 1472, the people of Ha
complain to the Archdeacon that they "inhabit so unresonablie fer
ther parisch cherche that the substaunce (majority) of the said inh
tauntes for impotensaye and feblenes, farrenes (farness=distance) o
way, and also for grete abundance of waters and perlouse passages at s
brigges for peple in age and unweldye, between them and ther
parische cherche, they may not come with ese or in seasonable tyn
ther saide parische cherche as Cristen people should, and as they w
and so they pray for leave and help for a chaplain of their own.

We must remember, too, that our ante-Reformation forefathers did
hold modern doctrines concerning the proper mode of observing Sun
and holydays. They observed them more in the way which makes us

all a day of leisure and recreation a "holiday;" they observed them all
n much the same spirit as we still observe some of them, such as
Christmas-day and Whitsuntide. When they had duly served God at
matins and mass, they thought it no sin to spend the rest of the day in
awful occupations, and rather laudable than otherwise to spend it in
nnocent recreations. The Riccall presentation gives us a picture which,
o doubt, might have been seen in many another country-place on a
unday or saint-day. The pedlar lays down his pack in the church-porch
—and we will charitably suppose assists at the service—and then after
ervice he is ready to spread out his wares on the bench of the porch
efore the eyes of the assembled villagers and make his traffickings,
ccle siastical canons to the contrary notwithstanding, and so save himself
any a weary journey along the devious ways by which his customers
ave to return in the evening to their scattered homes. The complaint of
ne churchwardens does not seem to be directed against the traffic so
uch as against its being conducted in the consecrated precincts. Let
ne pedlar transfer his wares to the steps of the village-cross, and probably
o one would have complained; but then, though they who wanted
nything might have sought him there, he would have lost the chance of
atching the eye of those who did not want anything, and tempting them
want and buy—a course for which we must not blame our pedlar too
uch, since we are told it is the essence of commerce, on a large as on a
nall scale, to create artificial wants and supply them.

In the late thirteenth-century MS. Royal, 10 Ed. IV., are some illumina-
ons of a mediæval story, which afford us very curious illustrations of a
edlar and his pack. At f. 149, the pedlar is asleep under a tree, and
onkeys are stealing his pack, which is a large bundle, bound across and
ross with rope, with a red strap attached to the rope by which it is slung
er the shoulder. On the next page the monkeys have opened the wrapper,
owing that it covered a kind of box, and the mischievous creatures are
nning off with the contents, among which we can distinguish a shirt and
ne circular mirrors. On f. 150, the monkeys have conveyed their spoil
into the tree, and we make out a purse and belt, a musical pipe, a belt
d dagger, a pair of slippers, a hood and gloves, and a mirror. On the



Pack-horses

ext page, a continuation of the same subject, we see a pair of gloves, a an's hat, a woman's head-kerchief; and again, on p. 151, we have, in addition, hose, a mirror, a woman's head-dress, and a man's hood. These rious illuminations sufficiently indicate the usual contents of a pedlar's ack.

In the Egerton MS., 1,070, of the fourteenth century, at f. 380, is a representation of the flight into Egypt, in which Joseph is represented arrying a round pack by a stick over the shoulder, which probably lustrates the usual mode of carrying a pack or a pedestrian's personal ggage. Other illustrations of the pedlar of the latter part of the fifteenth nd sixteenth centuries will be found in the series of the Dance of Death.

A former illustration has shown us a pack-horse and mule, the means by hich those itinerant traders chiefly carried their merchandise over the ountry. But some kinds of goods would not bear packing into ordinary undles of the kind there shown; for such goods, boxes or trunks, slung n each side of a pack-saddle, were used. We are able to give an lustration of them from an ancient tapestry figured in the fine ork on "Anciennes Tapisseries" by Achille Jubinal. It is only a minor ncident in the background of the picture, but is represented with sufcient clearness. Another mode of carrying personal baggage is repreented in the fifteenth-century MS. Royal, 15 E. V., where a gentleman avelling on horseback is followed by two servants, each with a large roll f baggage strapped to the croupe of his saddle. The use of pack-horses as not even yet (or had not a few years ago) utterly died out of England. he writer saw a string of them in the Peak of Derbyshire, employed in arrying ore from the mines. The occasional occurrence of the packorse as the sign of a roadside inn also helps to keep alive the remembrance of this primitive form of "luggage-train." Many of our readers ay have travelled with a valise at their saddle-bow and a cloak strapped the croupe; the fashion, even now, is not quite out of date.

CHAPTER V.

COSTUME.

WE have, in a former chapter, given some pictures from illumina MSS., in illustration of the costume and personal appearance the merchants of the Middle Ages; but they are on such a sc as not to give much characteristic portraiture—except in the example the bourgeoise of Paris, in the illumination from Froissart, on page 49 and they inadequately represent the minute details of costume. We sh endeavour in this chapter to bring our men more vividly before the eye the reader in dress and feature.

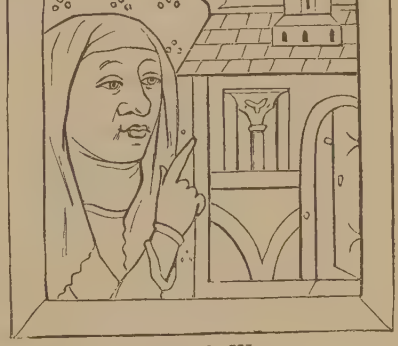
The "Catalogus Benefactorum" of St. Alban's Abbey, to which have been so often indebted, will again help us with some pictures unusual character. They are of the fourteenth century, and illustr people of the burgess class who were donors to the abbey; the pe liarity of the representation is, that they are half-length portraits on unusually large scale for MS. illuminations. When we call them p traits, we do not mean absolutely to assert that the originals sat their pictures, and that the artist tried to make as accurate a portrait he could; but it is probable that the donations were recorded and pictures executed soon after the gifts were made, therefore, presumed in the lifetime of the donors. It is, moreover, probable that the ar was resident in the monastery or in the dependent town, and w consequently, acquainted with the personal appearance of his origina and in that case, even if the artist had not his subjects actually bef his eyes at the time he painted these memorials, it is likely that would, at least from recollection, give a general *vraisemblance* to

ortrait. The faces are very dissimilar, and all have a characteristic xpression, which confirms us in the idea that they are not mere conven-onal portraits.

They seem to be chiefly tradespeople rather than merchants of the igher class, and of the latter half of the fourteenth century. Here, or example, are William Cheupaign nd his wife Johanna, who gave to ne Abbey-church two tenements in ne Halliwelle Street. One of the enements is represented in the icture, a single-storied house of imber, thatched, with a carved stag's ead as a finial to its gable. This Villiam also gave, for the adornment f the church, several frontals, with old, roses embroidered on a black ground; also he gave a belt to make a *norse* (fastening or brooch) for the principal copes, with a figure of a swan n the *morse*, beautifully made of oldsmith's work; also he gave to he refectory a wooden drinking-bowl r cup, handsomely ornamented with ilver, with a cover of the same wood. He wears a green hood lined with ed; his wife is habited in a white ood.

William and Johanna Cheupaign.

The next picture represents ohanna de Warn, who also gave hat is described as a well-built ouse, with a louvre, in St. Alban's own. This house, again, is of tim-er, with traceried windows, an arched doorway with ornamental hinges to he door, and an unusually large and handsome louvre. This louvre was oubtless in the roof of the hall, and probably over a fire-hearth in the iddle of the hall, such as that which still exists in the fourteenth-century



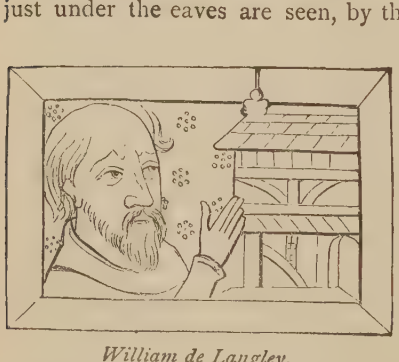
Johanna de Warn.

hall at Pevensey, Kent. The lady's face is strong corroboration of theory that these are portraits.

Next is the portrait of a man in a robe, fastened in front with gi buttons, and a hood drawn round a stron marked face, reminding us altogether of portraits of Dante.

A Gentleman in Civilian Dress.

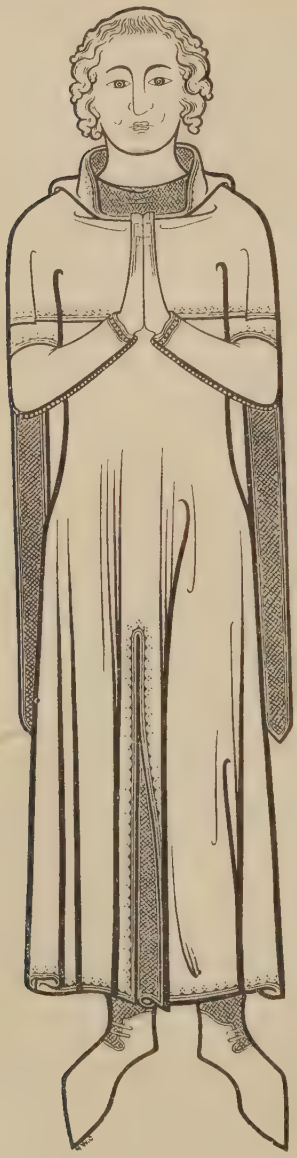
The last which we take from this curi series is the picture of William de Lang who gave to the monastery a well-built ho in Dagnale Street, in the town of St. Alba for which the monastery received sixty shilli per annum, which Geoffrey Stukeley held the time of writing. William de Langle a man of regular features, partly bald, w pointed beard and moustache, the kind face that might so easily have been me conventional, but which has really m individuality of expression. The house—his benefaction—represen beside him, is a two-storied house; three of the square compartme just under the eaves are seen, by the colouring of the illumination, to windows; it is timber-built and til and the upper story overhangs lower. The gable is finished w a weather-vane, which, in the origi is carried beyond the limits of picture. The dots in the em spaces of all these pictures are diapering of the coloured ba ground.



William de Langley.

But curious as these early portra are, and interesting for their char ter and for their costume, as far as they go, they still fail to give us co plete illustrations of the dresses of the people. For these we shall ha to resort to a class of illustrations which we have hitherto, for the m

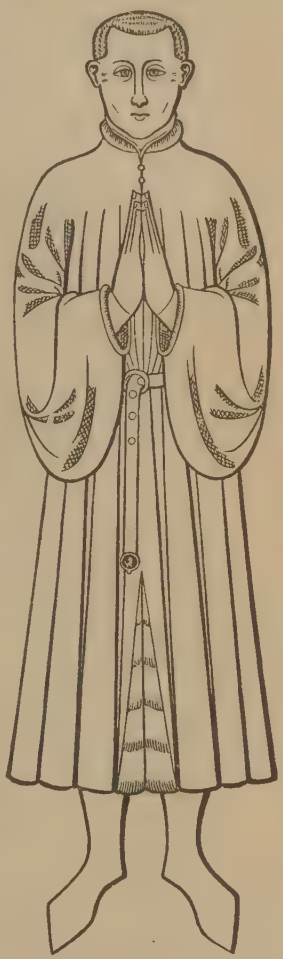
art, avoided—that of monumental brasses. Now we recur to them ecause they give us what we want—the *minutiæ* of costume—in far igher perfection than we can find it elsewhere. Again, instead of lecting one from one part of the country and another from another, e have thought that it would add interest to the series of illustrations take as many as possible from one church, whose grave-stones appen to furnish us with a continuous series at short intervals of ie effigies of the men who once inhabited the old houses of the town Northleach, in Gloucestershire. This series, however, does not go ack so far as the earliest extant monumental brass of a merchant; we erefore take a first example from another source. We have already entioned the three grand effigies of Robert Braunche and Adam Valsokne of Lynne, and Alan Fleming of Newark; we select from them e effigy of Robert Braunche, merchant of Lynn, of date 1367 A.D. We ave taken his single figure out of the grand composition which forms, rhaps, the finest monumental brass in existence. The costume is egantly simple. A tunic reaches to the ankle, with a narrow line of mbroidery at the edges; the sleeves do not reach to the elbow, but fall in o hanging lappets, while the arm is seen to be covered by the tight eeves of an under garment, ornamented rather than fastened by a close w of buttons from the elbow to the wrist. Over the tunic is a hood, hich covers the upper part of the person, while the head part falls hind. The hood in this example fits so tightly to the figure that the ader might, perhaps, think it doubtful whether it is really a second rment over the tunic; but in the contemporary and very similar effigy of lam de Walsokne, it is quite clear that it is a hood. The plain leather oes laced across the instep will also be noticed. If the reader should ppen to compare this woodcut with the engraving of the same figure in utell's "Monumental Brasses," he will, perhaps, be perplexed by finding at the head here given is different from that which he will find there. e beg to assure him that our woodcut is correct. Mr. Boutell's artist, some curious error, has given to his drawing of Braunche the head of an Fleming of Newark; and to Fleming he has given Braunche's head. We feel quite sure that every one of artistic feeling will be thankful for



Robert Braunche, of Lynn.

Wool Merchant from Northleach

eing made acquainted with the accompanying effigy of a merchant of Northleach, whose inscription is lost, and his name, therefore, unknown. The brass is of the highest merit as work of art, and has been very carefully and ccurately engraved, and is worthy of minute xamination. The costume, which is of about he year 1400 A.D., it will be seen, consists of a ong robe buttoned down the front, girded with highly-ornamented belt; the enlarged plate at he end of the strap is ornamented with a T, robably the initial of the wearer's Christian ame. By his side hangs the *anlace*, or dagger, hich was worn by all men of the middle class ho did not wear a sword, even by the secular lergy. Over all is a cloak, which opens at the ight side, so as to give as much freedom as ossible to the right arm, and to this cloak is ttached a hood, which falls over the shoulders. The hands are covered with half gloves. The ool-pack at his feet shows his trade of woolerchant. Over the effigy is an elegant canopy, hich it is not necessary for our purpose to give, ut it adds very much to the beauty and sumptuousness of the monument.



John Fortey, from Northleach Church.

Next in the series is John Fortey, A.D. 1458, hose costume is not so elegant as that of the ast figure, but it is as distinctly represented. The tunic is essentially the same, but shorter, eaching only to the mid-leg; with sleeves of peculiar shape which, we know from other conemporary monuments, was fashionable at that ate. It is fastened with a girdle, though a ess ornamental one than that of the preceding igure, and is lined and trimmed at the wrists with fur. Very similar

figures of Hugo Bostock and his wife, in Wheathamstead Church, He are of date 1435; these latter effigies are specially interesting as parents of John de Wheathamstede, the thirty-third abbot of St. Alba

The next is an interesting figure, though far inferior in artistic m and beauty to those which have gone before. The name here ag is lost, but a fragment remaining of the inscription gives the date MCC

Wool Merchants from Northleach Church.

with a blank for the completion of the date; the same is the c with the date of his wife's death, so that both effigies may have b executed in the lifetime of the persons. The date is proba a little later than 1400. The face is so different from the previ ones that it may not be unnecessary to say that great pains have b taken to make it an accurate copy of the original, and it has been dra

d engraved by the same hand as the others. The manifest endeavour to dicate that the deceased was an elderly man, induces us to suspect that me of its peculiarity may arise from its being not a mere conventional ass, such as the monumental brass artists doubtless "kept to order," t one specially executed with a desire to make it more nearly resemble e features of the deceased. If, as we have conjectured, it was executed his lifetime, this, perhaps, may account for its differing from the conven-nal type. His dress is the gown worn by civilians at the period, with a *ɒcire*, or purse, hung at one side of his girdle, and his rosary at the ıer.

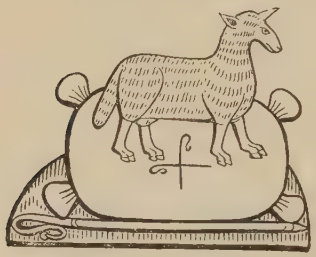
Lastly, we give the effigy of another nameless wool-merchant of ɔrthleach, who is habited in a gown of rather stiffer material than the ɔes of his predecessors, trimmed with fur at the neck and feet and ists. The inscription recording his name and date of death is lost, but curious epitaph, also engraved on the brass, remains, as follows:—

"Farewell my frends, the tyde abideth no man,
I am departed from hence, and so shall ye;
But in this passage the best songe that I can
Is requiem eternam. Now then graunte it me,
When I have ended all myn adversitie,
Graunte me in Puradise to have a mansion,
That shed thy blode for my redemption."

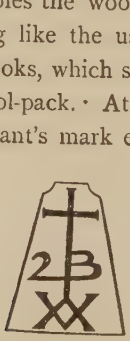
The mention of fur in these effigies suggests the restrictions in this ıtter imposed by the sumptuary laws by which the king and his advisers ught from time to time to restrain the extravagance of the lieges. By e most important of these acts, passed in 1362, the Lord Mayor of ɔndon and his wife were respectively allowed to wear the array of knights chelors and their wives; the aldermen and recorder of London, and e mayors of other cities and towns, that of esquires and gentlemen ving property to the yearly value of £40. No man having less than s, or his wife or daughter, shall wear any fur of martrons (martin's?) use, pure grey, or pure miniver. Merchants, citizens, and burgesses, ificers and people of handicraft, as well within the City of London as ewhere, having goods and chattels of the clear value of £500, are owed to dress like esquires and gentlemen of £100 a year; and those

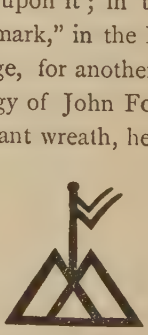
possessing property to the amount of £1,000, like landed proprietors
£200 a year.

There are some further features in these monumental brasses wo
notice. Knightly effigies often have represented at their feet lions,
symbols of their martial courage. Some of our wool-merchants hav
sheep at their feet, as the symbol of their calling: one is given in
woodcut accompanying. In another, in the same church, the merch



has one foot on a sheep and the other on a wool-pack; here the t
significant symbols are combined—the sheep stands on the wool-pa
In both examples the wool-pack has a mark upon it; in the former c
it is something like the usual "merchant's mark," in the latter it is t
shepherds' crooks, which seem to be his badge, for another crook is l
beside the wool-pack. · At the feet of the effigy of John Fortey, p. 523
also his merchant's mark enclosed in an elegant wreath, here represent





The initials I and F are the initials of his name; the remainder of t
device is his trade-mark. We give two other merchants' marks of the t
last of our series of effigies. If the reader cares to see other examp
of these marks, and to learn all the little that is known about them, he m
refer to a paper by Mr. Ewing, in vol. iii. of "Norfolk Archæology."

We have in a former chapter (p. 498) given from his monumental brass figure of Alderman Field, of the date 1574, habited in a tunic edged with ; girded at the waist, with a *gypcire* and rosary at the girdle, and over all alderman's gown. In St. Paul's Church, Bedford, is another brass of William Harper, Knight, Alderman, and Lord Mayor of London,* who d in A.D. 1573; he wears a suit of armour of that date, with an alder-n's robe forming a drapery about the figure, but thrown back so as to nceal as little of the figure as possible. In the Abbey Church at rewsbury is an effigy of a mayor of that town in armour, with a mayor's wn of still more modern shape. The brasses of Sir M. Rowe, Lord ayor of London, 1567, and Sir H. Rowe, Lord Mayor 1607, both kneel-g figures, formerly in Hackney Church, are engraved in Robinson's tory of that parish. And in many of the churches in and about ndon, and other of the great commercial towns of the Middle Ages, numental effigies exist, with which, were it necessary, we might extend se notes of illustrations of civic costume.

In further explanation of civil costume from MSS. illuminations we refer artist to the Harleian "Romance of the Rose" (Harl. 4,425, f. 47), ere he will find a beautiful drawing, in which appears a man in a long e gown, open a little at the breast and showing a pink under-robe, a ck hat, and a liripipe of the kind already given in the citizens of Paris 54; he wears his purse by his side, and is presenting money to a beggar. f. 98 is another in similar costume, with a "penner" at his belt in lition to his purse. There is nothing to prove that these men are mer-nts, except that they are represented in the streets of a town, and that ir costume is such as was worn by merchants of the time.

With these costumes of civilians before our eyes we wish to use m in illustration of a subject which was touched upon in a former tion of this work, viz., the Secular Clergy of the Middle Ages. We re devoted some pages to a discussion of the ordinary every-day cos-e of the clergy, and stated that there was no professional peculiarity

* Engraved in Fisher's Bedfordshire Collections, and in the London and Middlesex hæological Society's Proceedings for 1870, p. 66.

about it, but that it was in shape like that worn by contemporary civilia of the better class, and in colour blue and red and other colours, l seldom black. If the reader will turn back to pp. 244, 245, and 2 he will find some woodcuts of the clergy in ordinary costume; let h compare them now with these costumes of merchants. For examp take the woodcut of Roger the Chaplain, on p. 245, and compare with the brass from Northleach, p. 522. The style of art is v different, but in spite of this the resemblance in costume will be read seen; the gown reaching to the ankle, and over it the cloak fastened w three buttons at the right shoulder, with the hood falling back over t shoulders; the half-gloves are the same in both, and the shoes with th latchet over the instep. Then turn to the priest on p. 246, and it v be seen that he wears the gown girded at the waist, with a purse hu at the girdle, and the flat cap with long liripipe, which we have descrit in the costumes of these merchants. Lastly, let the reader look at th brasses of wool-staplers, and compare the gown they wore with the c sock now adopted by the clergy, and it will be seen that they are id tical—*i.e.* the clergy continue to wear the gown which all civilians w three or four hundred years ago; and in the same manner the acade gown which the clergy wear, in common with all university men, is only t gown which all respectable citizens wore in the time of Henry VIII. a Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VI.

MEDIÆVAL TOWNS.

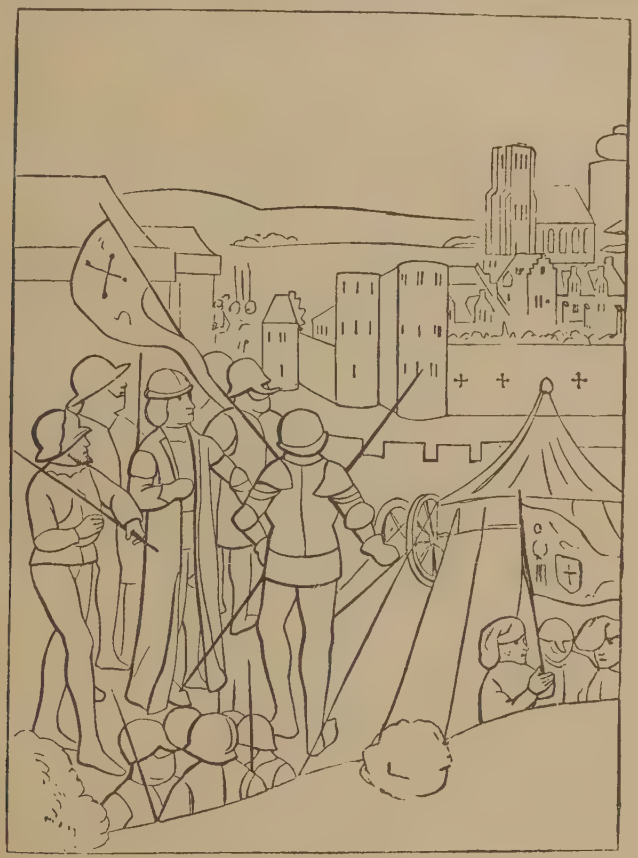
MEDIÆVAL towns in England had one of four origins; some were those of ancient Roman foundation, which had lived through the Saxon invasion, like Lincoln, Chester, and Colchester. Others gain grew up gradually in the neighbourhood of a monastery. The nonastery was founded in a wilderness, but it had a number of artisans mployed about it; travellers resorted to its *hospitium* as to an inn; it was erhaps a place of pilgrimage; the affairs of the Lord Abbot, and the usiness of the large estates of the convent, brought people constantly ither; and so gradually a town grew up, as at St. Alban's, St. Edmundsury, &c. In other cases it was not a religious house, but a castle of some owerful and wealthy lord, which drew a population together under the elter of its walls—as at Norwich, where the lines of the old streets folw the line of the castle-moat; or Ludlow, on the other side of the ingdom, which gathered round the Norman Castle of Ludlow. But ere is a third category of mediæval towns which did not descend from ncient times, or grow by accidental accretion in course of time, but ere deliberately founded and built in the mediæval period for specific rposes; and in these we have a special interest from our present point view.

There was a period, beginning in the latter part of the eleventh and exnding to the close of the fourteenth century, when kings and feudal lords, om motives of high policy, fostered trade with anxious care; encouraged aders with countenance, protection, and grants of privileges; and founded mmercial towns, and gave them charters which made them little inde-

pendent, self-governing republics, in the midst of the feudal lords an ecclesiastical communities which surrounded them.

In England we do not find so many of these newly founded towns as o the Continent; here towns were already scattered abundantly over the lan and what was needed was to foster their growth; but our English king founded such towns in their continental dominions. Edward I. plante numerous free towns, especially in Guienne and Aquitaine, in order to rai up a power in his own interest antagonistic to that of the feudal lord Other continental sovereigns did the same, *e.g.* Alphonse of Poitiers, th brother of St. Louis, in his dominion of Toulouse. But in England w have a few such cases. The history of the foundation of Hull will affor us an example. When Edward I. was returning from Scotland after th battle of Dunbar, he visited Lord Wakes of Barnard Castle. While huntir one day, he was led by the chase to the hamlet of Wyke-upon-Hul belonging to the convent of Meaux. The king perceived at once the cap bilities of the site for a fortress for the security of the kingdom, and a po for the extension of commerce. He left the hunt to take its cours questioned the shepherds who were on the spot about the depth of th river, the height to which the tides rose, the owner of the place, and th like. He sent for the Abbot of Meaux, and exchanged with him oth lands for Wyke. Then he issued a proclamation offering freedom ar great commercial privileges to all merchants who would build and inhab there. He erected there a manor-house for himself; incorporated th town as a free borough in 1299 A.D.; by 1312 the great church was buil by 1322 the town was fortified with a wall and towers; and the king visite it from time to time on his journeys to the north. The family of De Pole, who settled there from the first, ably seconded the king's intentio Kingston-upon-Hull became one of the great commercial towns of t kingdom. The De la Poles rose rapidly to wealth and the highest ran Michael de la Pole "builded a goodly-house of brick, against the west e of St. Mary's Church, like a palace, with a goodly orchard and garden large, enclosed with brick. He builded also three houses in the to besides, whereof every one hath a tower of brick." Leland the antiqua of the time of Queen Elizabeth, has left us a description and bird's-e

plan of the town in his day, which is highly interesting. Of our English towns, those which are of Roman origin were laid out at first on a comprehensive plan, and they have the principal streets tolerably straight, and



View of Jerusalem.

ossing at right angles. The great majority of the towns which grew as ove described are exceedingly irregular; but this irregularity, so important element in the picturesqueness of mediæval towns, is quite an accidental c. When the mediæval builders laid out a town *de novo*, they did it in

the most methodical manner; laying out the streets wide, straight, at equ distances, and crossing rectangularly; appropriating proper sites f churches, town-halls, and other public purposes, and regulating the size an plan of the houses. It is to the continental towns we must especially loo for examples; but we find when Edward I. was building his free towns ther he sent for Englishmen to lay them out for him. A similar opportunity o

The Canterbury Pilgrims.

curred at Winchelsea, where the same plan was pursued. The old town Winchelsea was destroyed by the sea in 1287, and the king determined rebuild this cinque-port. The chief owners of the new site were a knig Sir J. Tregoz, one Maurice, and the owners of Battle Abbey. The k compounded with them for their rights over seventy acres of land, a sent down the Bishop of Ely, who was Lord Treasurer, to lay out new town. The monarch accorded the usual privileges to settlers, a gave help towards the fortifications. The town was laid out in stre

which divided the area into rectangular blocks; two blocks were set apart for churches, and there were two colleges of friars within the town. Somehow the place did not flourish; it was harried by incursions of the French before the fortifications were completed, people were not attracted to it, the whole area was never taken up, and it continues to this day shrunk up into one corner of its walled area. Three of the old gates, and part of the walls, and portions of three or four houses, are all that remain of King Edward's town.

The woodcut on the preceding page, from a MS. of Lydgate's "Storie of Thebes" (Royal 18 D. II.), gives a general view of a town, The travellers in the foreground are a group of Canterbury pilgrims.

In these mediæval times the population of these towns was not so diverse as it afterwards became; the houses were of various classes, from that of the wealthy merchant, which was a palace—like that of Michael de la Pole at Hull, or that of Sir John Crosby in London—down to the cottage of the humble craftsman, but the mediæval town possessed no such squalid quarters as are to be found in most of our modern towns. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, manufacturers, and craftsmen of the various guilds. Just as in the military order, all who were permanently attached to the service of a feudal lord were lodged in his castle or manor and its dependencies; as all who were attached to a religious community were lodged in and about the monastery; as in farm-houses, a century ago, the labouring men lived in the house; so in towns all the clerks, apprentices, and workpeople lodged in the house of their master; the apprentices of every craftsman formed part of his family; there were no lodgings in the usual sense of the word. In the great towns, and especially in the suburbs, were hostelries which received travellers, adventurers, minstrels, and all the people who had no fixed establishment; and often in the outskirts of the town without the walls, houses of inferior kind sprang up like parasites, and harboured the poor and dangerous classes.

The bird's-eye views of the county towns in the corners of Speed's *Maps of the most famous Places of the World*, are well worth study. They give representations of the condition of many of our towns in the time of Elizabeth, while they were still for the most part in their ancient condition,

with walls and gates, crosses, pillories, and maypoles still standing, an indicated in the engravings. Perhaps one of the most perfect examples w have left of a small mediæval town is Conway; it is true, no very o houses appear to be left in it, but the streets are probably on their o lines, and the walls and gates are perfect—the latter, especially, giving some picturesque features which we do not find remaining in the gates other towns. Taken in combination with the adjoining castle it is arch tecturally one of the most unchanged corners of England.

We have also a few old houses still left here and there, sufficient form a series of examples of various dates, from the twelfth century dow wards. We must refer the reader to Turner's "Domestic Architecture for notices of them. A much greater number of examples, and in muc more perfect condition, exist in the towns of the Continent, for whi reference should be made to Viollet le Duc's "Dictionary of Architecture All that our plan requires, and our space admits, is to give a gener notion of what a citizen's house in a mediæval town was like. The hous of wealthy citizens were no doubt mansions comparable with the unen battled manor-houses of the country gentry. We have already quote Leland's description of that of Michael de la Pole at Hull, of the fourteen century, and Crosby Hall in Bishopsgate Street. St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, is a very perfect example of the middle of the fifteenth centur Norwich also possesses one or more houses of this character. The hou of an ordinary citizen had a narrow frontage, and usually presented i gable to the street; it had very frequently a basement story, groine which formed a cellar, and elevated the first floor of the house three four feet above the level of the street. At Winchelsea the vaulted bas ments of three or four of the old houses remain, and show that the e trance to the house was by a short stone stair alongside the wall; und these stairs was the entrance into the cellar, beside the steps a window the cellar, and over that the window of the first floor. Here, as w usually the case, the upper part of the house was probably of wood, an it was roofed with tiles. On the first floor was the shop, and besi it an alley leading to the back of the house, and to a straight sta which gave access to the building over the shop, which was a ha

or common living-room occupying the whole of the first floor. The kitchen was at the back, near the hall, or sometimes the cooking was done in the hall itself. A private stair mounted to the upper floor, which was the sleeping apartment, and probably was often left in one undivided garret; the great roof of the house was a wareroom or storeroom, goods being lifted to it by a crane which projected from a door in the gable. The town of Cluny possesses some examples, very little modernised, of houses of this description of the twelfth century. Others of the thirteenth century are at St. Antonin, and in the Rue St. Martin, Amiens. Others of subsequent date will be found in the Dictionary of Viollet le Duc, vol. vi., pp. 222—271, who gives plans, elevations, and perspective sketches which enable us thoroughly to understand and realise these picturesque old edifices. Our own country will supply us with abundance of examples of houses, both of timber and stone, of the fifteenth century. Nowhere, perhaps, are there better examples than at Shrewsbury, where they are so numerous, in some parts (*e.g.* in the High Street and in Butcher Row), as to give a very good notion of the picturesque effect of a whole street—of a whole town of them. But it must be admitted that the continental towns very far exceed ours in their antiquarian and artistic interest. In the first place, the period of great commercial prosperity occurred in these countries in the Middle Ages, and their mediæval towns were in consequence larger and handsomer than ours. In the second place, there has been no great outburst of prosperity in these countries since to encourage the pulling down the mediæval houses to make way for modern improvements; while in England our commercial growth, which came later, has had the result of clearing away nearly all of our old town-houses, except in a few old-fashioned places which were left outside the tide of commercial innovations. In consequence, a walk through some of the towns of Normandy will enable the student and the artist better to realise the picturesque effect of an old English town, than any amount of diligence in putting together the fragments of old towns which remain to us. In some of the German towns, also, we find the old houses still remaining, apparently untouched, and the ancient walls, mural towers, and gateways still surrounding them. The illu-

A Mediæval Street and Town Hall.

inations in MSS. show that English towns were equally picturesque, and nat the mediæval artists appreciated them. The illustrations in our last hapter on pp. 519, 520, give an idea of the houses inhabited by citizens in uch a town as St. Alban's. In the "Roman d'Alexandre," in the Bodleian ibrary, Oxford, a whole street of such houses is rudely represented, some ith the gable to the street, some with the side, all with the door approached y an exterior stair, most of them with the windows apparently unglazed, nd closed at will by a shutter. We might quote one MS after another, and age after page. We will content ourselves with noting, for exterior views, ne Royal MS. 18 E. V. (dated 1473 A.D.), at 3 E. V., f. 117 v., a town with ridge and barbican, and the same still better represented at f. 179; and e refer also to Hans Burgmaier's "Der Weise Konige," which abounds picturesque bits of towns in the backgrounds of the pictures. For xteriors the view of Venice in the "Roman d'Alexandre" is full of interest, specially as we recognise that it gives some of the remaining features—ne Doge's Palace, the Cathedral, the columns in the Piazzeta—and it is nerefore not merely a fancy picture, as many of the town-views in the MS. re, which are supposed to represent Jerusalem,* Constantinople, and other ities mentioned in the text. This Venice view shows us that at that me the city was lighted by lanterns hung at the end of poles extended ver the doors of the houses. It gives us a representation of a butcher's nop and other interesting features.

The illustration on the preceding page is also a very interesting street-ew of the fifteenth century, from a plate in Le Croix and Seré's "Moyen ge," vol. Corporations et Metiers, Plate 8. Take first the right-hand de of the engraving, remove the forest of picturesque towers and turrets ith their spirelets and vanes which appear over the roofs of the houses (in hich the artist has probably indulged his imagination as to the effect of e other buildings of the town beyond), and we have left a sober repre-ntation of part of a mediæval street—a row of lofty timber houses with eir gables turned to the street. We see indications of the usual way of ranging the timber frame-work in patterns; there are also indications of

* Take the woodcut on p. 531, from MS. Royal, 15 E. I., f. 436.

pargeting (*e.g.* raised plaster ornamentation) and of painting in some
the panels. On the ground-floor we have a row of shops protected by
projecting pent-house; the shop-fronts are open unglazed arches, with
bench across the lower part of the arch for a counter, while the goods a
exposed above. In the first shop the tradesman is seen behind his count
ready to cry "what d'ye lack" to every likely purchaser; at the seco
shop is a customer in conversation with the shopkeeper; at the third t
shopkeeper and his apprentice seem to be busy displaying their goo
Some of the old houses in Shrewsbury, as those in Butcher Row, are r
unlike these, and especially their shops are exactly of this charact
When we turn to the rest of the engraving we find apparently some fi
building in which, perhaps, again the artist has drawn a little upon vag
recollections of civic magnificence, and his perspective is not quite sat
factory. Perhaps it is some market-house or guildhall, or some su
building, which is represented; with shops on the ground-floor, and ha
and chambers above. The entrance-door is ornamented with sculptu
the panels of the building are filled with figures, which are either paint
or executed in plaster, in relief. The upper part of the building is s
unfinished, and we see the scaffolds, and the cranes conveying mortar a
timber, and the masons yet at work. In the shop on the right of t
building, we note the usual open shop-front with its counter, and t
tradesman with a pair of scales; in the interior of the shop is an assista
who seems to be, with vigorous action, pounding something in a mort
and so we conjecture the shop to be that of an apothecary. The costu
of the man crossing the street, in long gown girded at the waist, may
compared with the merchants given in our last chapter, and with those
an engraving of a market-place at p. 499. The figure at a bench in the le
hand corner of the engraving may perhaps be one of the workmen engag
upon the building; not far off another will be seen hauling up a bucket
mortar, by means of a pulley, to the upper part of the building; the fi
mason seems to wear trousers, probably overalls to protect his ordina
dress from the dirt of his occupation. Of later date are the pair of vie
given opposite from the margin of one of the pictures in "The Alcher
Book" (Plut. 3,469) a MS. in the British Museum of early sixteenth-centu

ıte. The nearest house in the left-hand picture shows that the shops were ill of the mediæval character ; several of the houses have signs on projecting ples. There are other examples of shops in the nearest house of the right

Mediæval Streets.

nd picture, a public fountain opposite, and a town-gate at the end of the eet. We see in the two pictures, a waggon, horsemen, and carts, a con-ierable number of people standing at the shops, at the doors of their uses, and passing along the street, which has no foot pavement.

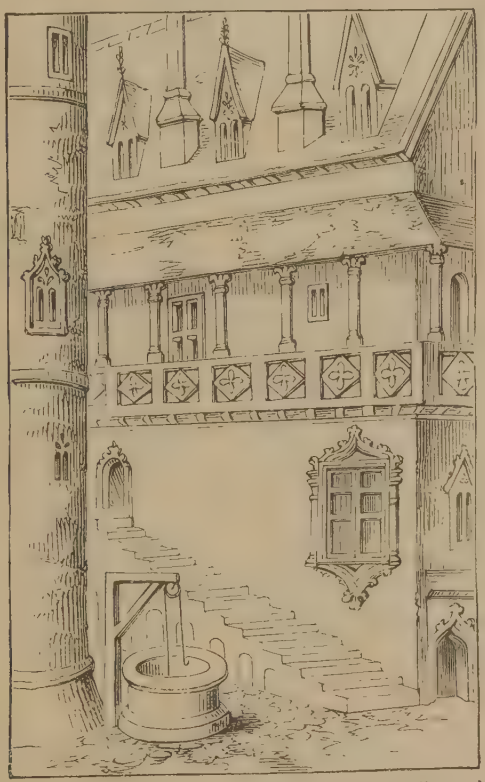
The accompanying cut from Barclay's "Shippe of Fools," gives a v
in the interior of a mediæval town. The lower story of the houses i
stone, the upper stories of timber, projecting. The lower stories have
small, apparently unglazed windows, while the living rooms with their or
and glazed lattices are in the first floor. The next cut, from a MS. in

A Town, from Barclay's Shippe of Fools.

French National Library, gives the interior of the courtyard of a g
house. We notice the portion of one of the towers on the left, the d
well, the external stair to the principal rooms on the first floor, the cove
unglazed gallery which formed the mode of communication from the
ferent apartments of the first floor, and the dormer windows.

A whole chapter might be written on the inns of mediæval Engla

e must content ourselves with giving references to pictures of the ex-
ior of two country ale-houses—one in in the Royal MS. 10 E. IV., at
114 v., which has a broom projecting over the door by way of sign ; and
other in the "Roman d'Alexandre" in the Bodleian—and with repro



Courtyard of a House. (French National Library.)

ucing here two pictures of the interiors of hostelries from Mr. Wright's
Domestic Manners and Customs of the Middle Ages." They represent
ne sleeping accommodation of these ancient inns. In the first, from the
Quatre Fils d'Aymon," a MS. romance of the latter part of the fourteenth
entury, in the French National Library, the beds are arranged at the side of

the apartment in separate berths, like those of a ship's cabin, or like the beds of the Highlands of Scotland. It is necessary, perhaps, to explain t the artist has imagined one side of the room removed, so as to introduce i his illustration both the mounted traveller outside and the interior of the i

In the next woodcut, from Royal MS. 18 D. II., the side of the hoste next to the spectator is supposed to be removed, so as to bring under v both the party of travellers approaching through the corn-fields, and same travellers tucked into their truckle beds and fast asleep. The sign

An Inn. (French National Library.)

the inn will be noticed projecting over the door, with a brush hung from Many houses displayed signs in the Middle Ages; the brush was the gene sign of a house of public entertainment. On the bench in the common d mitory will be seen the staves and scrips of the travellers, who are pilgrim

A fragment of a romance of "Floyre and Blanchefleur," published the Early English Text Society, illustrates the mediæval inn. We have little modernised the very ancient original. Floris is travelling with retinue of servants, in the hope of finding his Blanchefleur :—

"To a riche city they bothe ycome,
Whaire they have their inn ynome *
At a palais soothe riche ;
The lord of their inn has non his liche,†
Him fell gold enough to honde,
Bothe in water and in lande,
He hadde yled his life ful wide."

. he had travelled much, had great experience of life, and had gained gold
th by sea and land. Besides houses entirely devoted to the entertainment
travellers, it was usual for citizens to take travellers into their houses,

An Inn.

d give them entertainment for profit ; it would seem that Floris and his
rvants had "taken up their inn" at the house of a burgess ; he is called
bsequently, "a burgess that was wel kind and curteis :"—

"This Child he sette next his side,
Glad and blithe they weren alle
So many as were in the halle ;
But Floris not ne drunk naught,
Of Blanchefleur was all his thought."

* Taken. † Like.

The lady of the inn perceiving his melancholy, speaks to her husba about him :—

"Sire takest thou no care
How this child mourning sit
Mete ne drink he nabit,
He net * mete ne he ne drinketh
Nis † he no marchaunt as me thinketh."

From which we gather that their usual guests were merchants. The h afterwards tells Floris that Blanchefleur had been at his house a little ti before, and that—

"Thus therein this other day
Sat Blanchefleur that faire may,
In halle, ne in bower, ne at board
Of her ne herde we never a word
But of Floris was her mone
He hadde in herte joie none."

Floris was so rejoiced at the news, that he caused to be brought a cup silver and a robe of minever, which he offered to his host for his ne In the morning—

"He took his leave and wende his way,
And for his nighte's gesting
He gaf his host an hundred schillinge."

One feature of a town which requires special mention is the town-ha As soon as a town was incorporated, it needed a large hall in which transact business and hold feasts. The wealth and magnificence of the c poration were shown partly in the size and magnificence of its hall. Trad guilds similarly had their guildhalls; when there was one great guild in town, its hall was often the town-hall; when there were several, t guilds vied with one another in the splendour of their halls, feas pageants, &c. The town-halls on the Continent exceed ours in size a architectural beauty. That at St. Antoine, in France, is an elegant lit structure of the thirteenth century. The Belgian town-halls at Bruges, & are well known from engravings. We are not aware of the existence

* N'et, *i.e.* does not eat. † N'is, *i.e.* is not.

ny town-halls in England of a date earlier than the fifteenth century. That at Leicester is of the middle of the fifteenth century. The town-hall t Lincoln, over the south gate, is of the latter half of the century; that at Southampton, over the north gate, about the same date: it was not nusual for the town-hall to be over one of the gates. Of the early part f the sixteenth century we have many examples. They are all of the ame type—a large oblong hall, of stone or timber, supported on pillars, he open colonnade beneath being the market-place. That at Salisbury s of stone; at Wenlock (which has been lately restored), of timber. There re others at Hereford, Ross, Leominster, Ashburton, Guildford, &c. The ate Gothic Bourse at Antwerp is an early example of the cloistered, or overed courts, which, at the end of the fifteenth century, began to be uilt for the convenience of the merchants assembling at a certain hour to ransact business. The covered bridge of the Rialto was used as the Exchange at Venice.

None of our towns have the same relative importance which belonged o them in the Middle Ages. In the latter part of the period of which we rite it was very usual for the county families to have town-houses in the ounty town, or some other good neighbouring town, and there they came o live in the winter months. When the fashion began we hardly know. ome of the fine old timber houses remaining in Shrewsbury are said to ave been built by Shropshire families for their town-houses. The gentry id not in those times go to London for "the season." The great nobility nly used to go to court, which was held three times a year; then parlia- ent sat, the king's courts of law were open, and the business of the ation was transacted. They had houses at the capital for their con- enience on these occasions, which were called inns, as Lincoln's Inn, c. But it is only from a very recent period, since increased facilities of comotion made it practicable, that it has been the fashion for all people a certain class of society to spend "the season" in London. As a nsequence the country gentry no longer have houses in the provincial wns; even the better classes of those whose occupation lies in them e in their suburbs, and the towns are rapidly changing their character, ysically, socially, and morally, for the worse. London is becoming rapidly

the one great town in England. The great manufacturers have agencie in London; if people are going to furnish a house or to buy a weddin outfit they come up to London; the very artisans and rustics in searc of a day's holiday are whirled up to London in an excursion train. Whil London in consequence is extending so widely as to threaten to convert a England into a mere suburb of the metropolis of the British empire.

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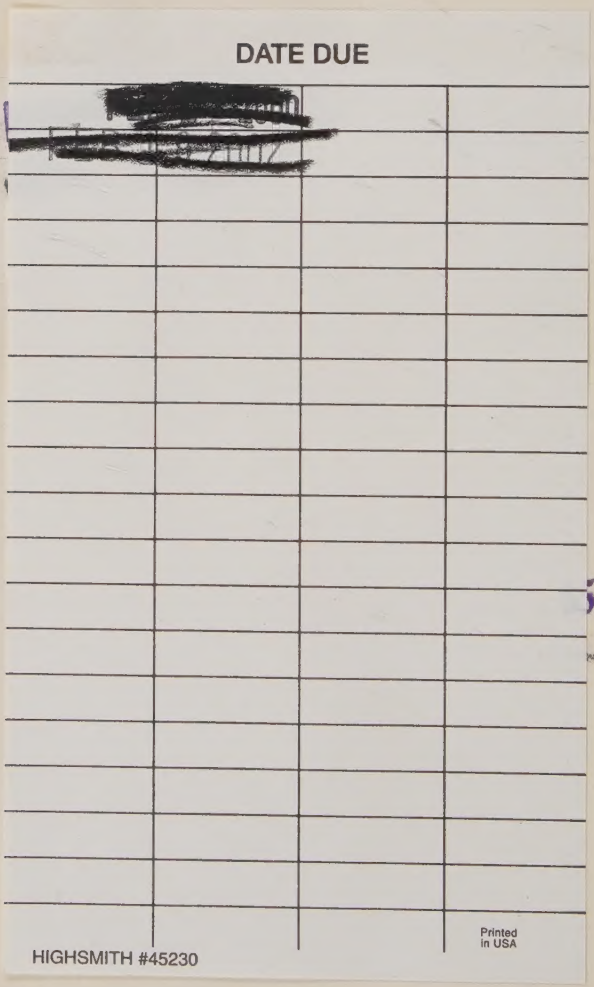

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